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A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

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A TREATISE

ON THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST:

DESIGNED CHIEFLY

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS IN THEOLOGY.

BY THE

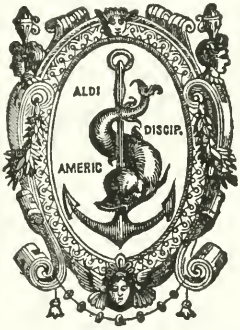
REV. WILLIAM PALMER, M. A.

OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY THE RT. REV. W. R. WHITTINGHAM, D. D.,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland.



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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PART III.

ON SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

PAGE

CHAPTER I. On the Perfection of Scripture 11
Objections 28
CHAPTER II. On Deductions from Scripture 38
Objections 46
CHAPTER III. On the Doctrinal Tradition of the Church . . 48
CHAPTER IV. On Traditions of Rites and Discipline . . . 66
Sect. i. The Mode in which all things lawful are contained in Scripture 66
Sect. ii. On the Means of discriminating variable from invariable Rites 71
Objections 74
CHAPTER V. On the Office of the Church in relation to Faith . 77
CHAPTER VI. On the alleged Necessity of Examination as a Foundation of Faith 88
Objections 89

PART IV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND DISCIPLINE.

Introduction 93
CHAPTER I. The Church is a Judge in Religious Controversies . 94
CHAPTER II. On the Modes of Ecclesiastical Judgments . . 100
CHAPTER III. On the Conditions of Ecclesiastical Judgments . 104
CHAPTER IV. On the Authority of Judgments of the Universal Church 107
Objections 121
CHAPTER V. On the Notion of a perpetual Tribunal in the Church 128
CHAPTER VI. On the Distinction between Ecclesiastical Judgments and Traditions, and mere common Opinions . . 131
Objections 141

PAGE

CHAPTER VII. On the Nature and Authority of Œcumenical Synods 144

Sect. i. The infallibility of a general Synod, lawfully celebrated and confirmed by the Roman pontiff alone, is only a matter of opinion in the Roman Churches 145

Sect. ii. A general Synod confirmed by the Roman Pontiff, has not, without the consent of the universal Church, any irrefragable Authority 149

Objections 151

CHAPTER VIII. General Remarks on the Decrees of Synods . 158

CHAPTER IX. On the six Œcumenical Synods 163

Sect. i. The Synod of Nice 165

Sect. ii. The first Synod of Constantinople 168

Sect. iii. The Synod of Ephesus 171

Sect. iv. The Synod of Chalcedon 175

Sect. v. The second Synod of Constantinople 176

Sect. vi. The third Synod of Constantinople 177

CHAPTER X. Councils improperly styled œcumenical, held before A.D. 1504 180

Sect. i. The Synod of Sardica 180

Sect. ii. The Synod of Ariminum and Arianism . . . 181

Objections 187

Sect. iii. The Latrocinium of Ephesus 189

Sect. iv. The Synods of Constantinople and Nice in the question of Images 189

Sect. v. The Synods of Constantinople in the cause of Photius 203

CHAPTER XI. Councils of the Western Church after A.D. 1054, improperly termed œcumenical 205

Sect. i. The first, second, and third Lateran Synods . . 205

Sect. ii. The fourth Lateran Synod 207

Sect. iii. The Synods at Lyons and Vienne 214

Sect. iv. The Synods of Pisa and Constance 217

Sect. v. The Synods of Basle, Florence and Lateran . . 221

CHAPTER XII. The Synod of Trent 224

CHAPTER XIII. On the authority of particular Synods, and of the Roman Pontiffs in Controversies 235

Sect. i. Of particular Synods 235

Sect. ii. The authority of Papal and Patriarchal Decrees . . 241

CHAPTER XIV. On the Articles of the Synod of London, 1562 . 242

Sect. i. On the nature of the Articles 245

Sect. ii. On the right of the Church to demand adhesion to the Articles 247

Sect. iii. On the Interpretation of the Articles 262

Sect. iv. On Subscription to the Articles 265

CHAPTER XV. On the Authority of the Church concerning Discipline and Rites 270

PAGE

CHAPTER XVI. On the Exercise and Sanctions of Ecclesiastical Discipline 274
SECT. I. On Ecclesiastical Tribunals 274
SECT. II. On Ecclesiastical Censures 277
SECT. III. On Penitence and Absolution 280
SECT. IV. On Censures of Churches by other Churches . . 281
OBJECTIONS 282
CHAPTER XVII. On the powers of Universities in Theological Questions 284

PART V.

ON THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

INTRODUCTION 291
CHAPTER I. On the original Independence of Church and State 294
CHAPTER II. The Right and Duty of the State to protect the true Religion 297
CHAPTER III. On the Extent and Nature of the Protection afforded by the Civil Magistrate to the Church 302
CHAPTER IV. On the Temporal Establishment of the Church . 306
CHAPTER V. On the Duty of the Sovereign to defend the Christian Faith and Discipline 310
CHAPTER VI. On the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Christian Sovereign 318
APPENDIX I. On the Expulsion of Bishops by the Temporal Power 325
APPENDIX II. On Nomination to Bishoprics, and on Synods and Convocations 329
CHAPTER VII. Certain Difficulties solved 337
CHAPTER VIII. On Toleration 339
OBJECTIONS 342

PART VI.

ON THE SACRED MINISTRY.

CHAPTER I. On the Episcopate 349
OBJECTIONS 367
CHAPTER II. On the Presbyterate 374
CHAPTER III. On the Diaconate 382
APPENDIX. On the Minor Orders 386
CHAPTER IV. On the Minister of Ordination 388
OBJECTIONS 395

PAGE

CHAPTER V. On the number of Bishops requisite to ordain . . 399
Objections 402
CHAPTER VI. On Re-ordinations 405
CHAPTER VII. On the Subjects of Ordination 413
CHAPTER VIII. On the Sacrament of Ordination . . . 417
CHAPTER IX. On the Celibacy of the Clergy 421
Objections 424
CHAPTER X. On the Validity of the English Ordinations . . 427
Objections 435
CHAPTER XI. On Romish Ordinations 443

PART VII.

ON THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

CHAPTER I. On the Pre-eminence of St. Peter 451
Objections 465
CHAPTER II. On the Duration of St. Peter's Pre-eminence . . 466
CHAPTER III. On the Origin of the Pre-eminence of the Roman Church 470
CHAPTER IV. The Roman Pontiff has not, *jure divino*, any ordinary Jurisdiction over the Universal Church . . . 478
Sect. I. The Roman Bishop has not, *jure divino*, any ordinary Jurisdiction over the Clergy and People of other Bishops . 478
Sect. II. The Roman Bishop has not, *jure divino*, any ordinary Jurisdiction over other Bishops 480
Objections 489
CHAPTER V. On other pretended Privileges of the Roman See . 494
Sect I. On the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility . . . 495
Objections 496
Sect. II. On the Roman Centre of Unity 498
Objections 501
CHAPTER VI. On the legitimate Authority of the Roman See . 504
CHAPTER VII. On the Patriarchate of Rome 506
Objections 510
CHAPTER VIII. On the Progress of the Power of the Roman Pontiff 514

Supplement, containing Replies to Objections against this Work . 529

A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART III.

ON SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART III.—CHAPTER I.

ON THE PERFECTION OF SCRIPTURE.

In the preceding portion of this work, I have endeavoured to establish and to apply briefly, the general principles which enable us to discriminate the true church of Christ from all other societies calling themselves Christian. I now proceed to consider the rules by which the doctrines of Revelation may be ascertained, and to this end, shall treat in this Part on the perfection of holy scripture, on the use of tradition, and of the office of the church in relation to both; reserving for the next Part, the consideration of another and a briefer mode of proving Christian doctrine, from the authoritative judgments of the church universal.

The genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of scripture, are proved by the same arguments against infidels and deists by all believers: but when we proceed further to establish the perfection of scripture, and its adaptation to the determination of Christian doctrine, we are at once involved in controversy with various sects. The doctrine which I am about to maintain, is that of the sixth Article, approved by the English synods in 1562 and 1571.

"Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation:

so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

The first assertion of this Article is, that holy scripture containeth "all things necessary to salvation," or as the context explains it, "all things which are to be believed as articles of faith, or thought necessary to salvation"—*i. e.* all the Revelation of God to us concerning faith and morality. This will be proved in the present chapter. We may also infer from the wording of the Article, that what is "proved by" holy scripture, may be as much an article of faith as what is expressly "read therein." This will form the subject of the next chapter. It should be observed further, that the Article does not affirm that scripture contains all that is *true* and *lawful*, as well as every "article of faith" or every doctrine "necessary to salvation." Nor does it affirm, that men ought not to be required to acknowledge certain truths which are not matters of faith, if such truths are not required *as* matters of faith, but as truths simply. Hence the church of England may, quite consistently with the doctrine of this Article, for good reasons oblige her ministers to profess, not merely doctrines of the faith, but historical truths, theological verities, pious and probable opinions.

To the doctrine that scripture contains all articles of faith, which we maintain against Roman theologians,[a] it has been objected *in limine*, that one at least of the most important articles of faith, namely, the inspiration and canonicity of several books of scripture, is not proved to us by scripture itself, but by the tradition of the church.[b] It may be alleged, that our own theo-

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[a] Stapleton, Principiorum Fid. Demonstr. Methodica, Controv. vii. lib. xii; Bellarmin. De Verbo Dei scripto et non scripto; Melchior Canus, Loci Theologici, lib. iii; De la Luzerne, Dissert. sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. i. p. 321; Delahogue, Tract. de Ecclesia, Appendix de Tradit.

[b] Collet, Institut. Theol. Scholast. t. i. p. 29, 30; Delahogue, De Ecclesia, Appendix de Traditione; Bouvier, Tract. de vera Eccl. p. 15; Trevern, Dis-

logians confess this. Hooker says, "Of things necessary, the very chiefest is to know what books we are to esteem holy, which point is confessed impossible for the scripture itself to teach. . . . It is not the word of God which doth or possibly can assure us that we do well to think it is his word," &c. He attributes to the church the first proof of the canonicity of scripture.[c] Whitaker acknowledges it is proved by the ecclesiastical tradition.[d] Laud,[e] Field,[f] Chillingworth,[g] and several other theologians, acknowledge the same. Hence it is argued by our adversaries, that the assertion of the Article is at once overthrown, because it is admitted that there is at least one essential article of faith which is not to be proved from scripture.

I reply that the article only means to assert, that all doctrines actually revealed by God are to be found in scripture, but there is no necessity to suppose that the inspiration of any particular book was the subject of actual revelation, because it would have been sufficiently evident when the inspiration of its *Author* was proved.[h] What the apostles and evangelists wrote, cannot but be the word of Him who invested them with miraculous powers. Hence the inspiration of each book of scripture follows on its genuineness being established, and we need not suppose that any special revelation was necessary to prove that inspiration, any more than to prove the genuineness and authenticity of scripture, the truth of the miracles, the integrity and freedom from imposture of our Saviour and the apostles.

I. There are four customary modes of proving that scripture

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cussion Amic. t. i. let. iv; Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. tom. i. p. 299; De la Luzerne, Dissert. sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. i. p. 15; Milner, End of Controversy, p. 69, &c. 106.

c Hooker's Works, vol. i. p. 335. 475. Ed. Keble.

d Whitakerus adv. Stapleton, lib. ii. c. 4, 5.

e Conference with Fisher, s. 16. p. 75.

f Field, of the Church, Book iv. c. 20.

g Chillingworth, Relig. of Prot. chap. ii. sect. 25.

h Van Mildert, Boyle Lectures, vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

"containeth all things necessary to salvation." From the nature and end of scripture; from the general sentiment of Christians; from the inadequacy of oral tradition; and from the scripture itself. These I shall consider successively.

It has been contended by the majority of Roman theologians, in modern times, that only a part of the word of God is contained in scripture, and that the remainder has been handed down by unwritten tradition; whence they conclude that it is lawful to require the belief in certain doctrines as articles of faith, which are not mentioned in scripture. In opposition to this principle I argue thus, from theological reasons :—

1. It is an article of faith even in the Roman obedience, that scripture is the word of God, and that it was written by His authority. The Synod of Trent "receives all the books of the Old and New Testament, because one God is the *author* of both."[i] To suppose, indeed, that the scriptures could have been written without the will of God, and yet that the church in all ages should regard them as standards of faith, would be altogether inconsistent with the promise of Christ to be always with his church and to send it the Spirit of truth for ever. A circumstance so deeply affecting the whole people of God, could not have occurred without the Divine will. Scripture then was written not casually or by the momentary impulse of the apostles and evangelists, however apparently it may have been so :

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[i] "Sacrosancta, œcumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus . . . . . perspiciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam (evangelii) contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ab ipsius Christi ore ab apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ ad nos usque pervenerunt; orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel oretenus a Christo vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas, para pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur."—Sess. iv. See Perceval on the Roman Schism, p. 159.

it was really the decree of God which caused it to be written. This should be remembered by those who are so rash as to argue from the apparently *casual* origin of some books of scripture, that it was not designed to be a standard of faith.[k]

Now, I would ask of our opponents, for what conceivable *end* could scripture have been written by the will of God, except for that of preserving those doctrines of Revelation which were to be in all future ages believed by men? They prove that scripture was not designed to be a judge in controversy, that it was not calculated to teach the Gospel.[l] They show abundantly that heretics have made an evil use of it, and pretended to confirm their errors by its words.[m] The question then recurs with still greater force: Why did God cause the scripture to be written? It was evidently for the purpose of preserving an authentic record of his Revelation. But if so, the *whole* Revelation of God must be contained in scripture, because otherwise it would accomplish only partially and imperfectly the end of its creation. If a legislator desires to commit his laws to writing, in order that an authentic record of them may remain to all future times, it is not to be supposed that he will omit a portion of them. He will indeed provide some mode of interpreting and executing those laws: but he will not designedly leave any portion of them out of the record.

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[k] Trevern, Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 180, &c. Milner, End of Controversy, p. 56. 82. These and other writers assert that Christ gave *no command* to his apostles to write the Gospel . . . a proposition which, in a sense very derivable from their use of it, is heretical. The irreverent mode of argument occasionally employed by Romanists in opposing the exaggerated views of some of their opponents as to the sufficiency of scripture, cannot be too strongly censured.

[l] Tournely, Prælect. Theol. de Eccl. Christi, t. i. p. 281, &c.; Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. Chr. t. i. p. 294, &c.; De la Luzerne, Dissert. sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. i. p. 25; Collet, Theologia Scholast. t. ii. p. 499.

[m] Milner, End of Controv. let. viii; De la Luzerne, Dissert. sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. i. 20—25; Delahogue, p. 90.—Melchior Canus, De Loc. Theol. l. iii. c. 2.

2. If tradition alone is supposed to convey some articles of the Christian faith, I ask, why does it not convey *all?* Why were not the inconveniences which you allege to arise from the existence of scripture, avoided? If you reply that scripture was designed to afford a greater evidence to Christian truths, then you admit that doctrines supported by scripture as well as tradition have more evidence, are more certain, than those supported by tradition only; and therefore that God meant to establish a distinction between the necessity of those doctrines. For surely it is in the highest degree improbable, that doctrines equally necessary should be left with totally unequal evidence, that some articles of the faith should be delivered by scripture as well as tradition, and others by tradition only. Such a mode of proceeding would seem inconsistent with the order, the uniformity, the harmony, nay, the equity of the divine proceedings. If indeed it could be proved directly that God had so ordered his Revelation, we should firmly believe that He had secret purposes, to the accomplishment of which these apparent irregularities were all conducive: but in the absence of such direct proof we must conclude in favour of the doctrine of the sixth Article, which asserts the completeness of scripture for the very end for which it was written, and which supposes the whole of revealed truth to be supported by a uniform and equal authority. All articles of faith, according to the Anglo-catholic doctrine, are proved by scripture, and by a universal tradition establishing the right interpretation, and corroborating the testimony of scripture. This is certainly a much more reasonable system, and much more probable in the abstract, than that which imagines that God would have left some of his Revelation to be proved from tradition only.

3. If tradition alone had been perfectly sufficient for the conveyance of Christian doctrine in all ages,[n] it is not to be

[n] "The Christian doctrine and discipline might have been propagated and preserved by the unwritten word, or tradition, joined with the authority of the church, though the Scriptures had not been composed; however profitable these most certainly are," &c.—Milner, End of Controv. let. x.

supposed that scripture would have been written at all; because there is no superfluity in the works of God. His means are always adequate to their ends, but they are never expended unnecessarily. Hence, from the existence of scripture, we may infer that tradition alone was insufficient for the preservation of Christian doctrine in the catholic church in all ages. Nor can this argument be retorted on us, because we admit the necessity of *both* scripture and tradition to prove every article of faith, and therefore tradition is not superfluous.

4. Scripture comprises some things that are not essentials of religion. It mentions several rites and regulations, such as washing of feet, the kiss of peace, the prohibition of long hair, &c., which are acknowledged now to be non-essential. How improbable is it that God should permit such things to be introduced in his word, while he willed that some articles of the faith should not be found there.

II. From the general persuasion of Christians.

I claim the whole weight of authority in favour of the doctrine of the sixth Article. That doctrine was generally held by the fathers and the schoolmen, and it is even more consistent with the doctrine of the Roman church, than the opinion to which it is opposed.

It was the doctrine of the Egyptian churches that the scripture contains all the articles of the faith. Origen says: "In the two testaments every word that appertaineth unto God may be sought and discussed, and out of them all knowledge of things may be understood. And if any thing remains which holy scripture does not determine, no other third scripture ought to be received to authorize any knowledge, but we must commit to the fire what remains, that is, reserve it unto God."[o] Atha

[o] "In hoc biduo puto duo testamenta posse intelligi, in quibus liceat omne verbum quod ad Deum pertinet (hoc enim est sacrificium) requiri et discuti, atque ex ipsis omnem rerum scientiam capi. Si quid autem superfuerit, quod non divina scriptura decernat, nullam aliam tertiam scipturam debere ad auctoritatem scientiæ suscipi . . . sed igni tradamus quod super-

nasius: "The holy and divinely inspired scriptures are sufficient of themselves to the discovery of truth."[p] Theophilus of Alexandria: "It is an instinct of the devil to follow the sophisms of human minds, and to think any thing divine without the authority of the scriptures."[q] Cyril of Alexandria: "That which the holy scripture hath not said, by what means should we receive and account it among those things that be true?"[r]

The doctrine of the Oriental churches was the same. Basil says: "Believe those things which are written; the things which are not written seek not."[s] "It is a manifest falling from the faith, and an argument of arrogancy, either to reject any point of those things that are written, or to bring in any of those things that are not written."[t] Gregory Nyssene: "Forasmuch as this is upholden with no testimony of the scripture, we will reject it as false."[u] Cyril of Jerusalem: "Nothing at all ought to be delivered concerning the Divine and holy mysteries of faith without the holy scriptures."[v] Chry-

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est, id est, Deo reservemus."—Orig. Hom. v. in Levit. t. ii. p. 212. ed. Bened.

p Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.—Athanas. Adv. Gent. t. i. op. p. 1.

q "Ignorans (Origines) quod dæmoniaci spiritus esset instinctus, sophismata humanarum mentium sequi, et aliquid extra scripturarum authoritatem putare divinum."—Theoph. Alex. Epist. Pasch. ii. Bibl. Patr. 1618. t. iv. p. 716.

r Ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἴρηκεν ἡ θεία γραφὴ, τίνα δὴ τρόπον παραδεξόμεθα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἔχουσι καταλογούμεθα;—Cyril. Alex. Glaphyr. in Gen. lib. ii. p. 29. t. i. Oper. ed. 1638.

s Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ζήτει.—Hom. adv. Calumn. S. Trinit.—Opor. t. ii. p. 611. ed. Ben.

t Φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—Basil. De Fide, c. i. t. ii. p. 222.

u "Cum id nullo scripturæ testimonio fultum sit, ut falsum improbabimus. —Lib. de Cognit. Dei, cit. ab Euthymio in Panoplia, pars i. tit. viii. n. 4.

v Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μήδε τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν.—Cyril. Hierosol. Cat. iv. s. 56. ed. Milles.

sostom: "The scripture, like unto a safe door, doth bar an entrance unto heretics, placing us in security concerning all we desire, and not suffering us to be deceived.[w] . . . Whosoever useth not the scriptures, but cometh in otherwise, that is, betaketh himself to another and an unlawful way, he is a thief."[x]

The doctrine of the Western churches was the same. Irenæus says: "Read diligently the Gospel given unto us by the apostles, and read diligently the prophets, and you shall find every action, and *the whole doctrine*, and the whole passion of our Lord, preached in them."[y] Tertullian: "Whether all things were made of any subject matter, I have, as yet, read no where. Let those of Hermogenes' school show that it is written. If it be not written, let them fear that wo which is allotted to such as add or take away."[z] Ambrose: "I read that he is the first, I read that he is not the second; they who say he is the second, let them show it by reading."[a] Jerome: "As we deny not those things that are written, so we refuse those things that are not written. That God was born of a virgin, we believe, because we read it: that Mary did marry after she was delivered, we do not believe, because we read it

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[w] Καθάπερ γάρ τις θύρα ἀσφαλὴς, οὕτως ἀποκλείει τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καθιστῶσα ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλώμεθα πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσα πλανᾶσθαι.—Chrysost. Hom. lix. al. lviii. in Joh. t. viii. p. 346. ed. Ben.

[x] Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῖς γραφαῖς χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν· τουτέστιν ἑτέραν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ νενομισμένην τέμνων ὁδόν· οὗτος κλέπτης ἐστίν.—Ibid.

[y] "Legite diligentius id quod ab apostolis est evangelium nobis datum, et legite diligentius Prophetas, et invenietis universam actionem, et omnem doctrinam, et omnem passionem Domini nostri, prædictum in ipsis."—Irenæus, Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 34. ed. Ben.

[z] "Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem qua mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum factoris invenio Sermonem. An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat Væ illud, adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum."—Tertull. adv. Hermogen. c. xxii.

[a] "Lego quia primus est, lego quia non est secundus. Illi qui secundum aiunt, doceant lectione."—Ambros. De Instit. Virg. c. ii. t. ii. p. 265. ed. Ben.

not."[b] Augustine: "Whatsoever ye hear (from the holy scriptures) let that savour well unto you: whatsoever is without them refuse."[c] It would be superfluous to cite additional testimonies to the same truth from Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Optatus, Hilary, Vincentius Lirinensis, Anastasius, Prosper, Theodoret, Antony, Benedict, Damascenus, Theophylact, &c. which have been collected by our writers.[d]

Nor was this merely the doctrine of the primitive church. It was the doctrine of the most eminent theologians in the middle ages. The learned Gerson says, that "the scripture is delivered to us as a sufficient and infallible rule for the government of the whole ecclesiastical body and its members to the end of the world. So that it is such an art, such a rule or exemplar, that any other doctrine which is not conformable to it, is to be renounced as heretical, or to be accounted suspicious, or not at all appertaining to religion."[e] Gregorius Ariminensis, speaking of "those things whereby the most wholesome faith that leadeth to true happiness is begotten, nourished, defended, and strengthened," says: "It is evident every such thing is

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[b] "Ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta, renuimus. Natum Deum esse de Virgine credimus, quia legimus. Mariam nupsisse post partum, non credimus, quia non legimus."—Hieron. adv. Helvid. Oper. t. iv. pars ii. p. 141. ed. Ben.

[c] "Quicquid inde audieritis, hoc vobis bene sapiat: quicquid extra est, respuite."—August. Sermo de Pastor. c. xi. t. v. p. 238.

[d] See Usher's Answer to a Jesuit, ch. ii.; Jer. Taylor's Dissuasive, p. ii. b. i. s. ii.; Beveridge on XXXIX. Articles; Tillotson, Rule of Faith, at the end: Newman on Romanism, lect. xiii.; Cary, testimonies of the Fathers to the XXXIX. Articles (Art. vi.)

[e] "Attendendum in examinatione doctrinarum primo et principaliter, si doctrina sit conformis Sacræ Scripturæ . . . . quoniam Scriptura nobis tradita est tanquam regula sufficiens et infallibilis, pro regimine totius ecclesiastici corporis et membrorum, usque in finem sæculi. Est igitur talis ars, talis regula, vel exemplar, cui se non conformans alia doctrina, vel abjicienda est ut hæreticalis, aut suspecta, aut impertinens ad religionem prorsus est habenda."—Gerson. De Exam. Doctrin. pars ii. con. i.

either expressly and in precise terms contained in holy scripture, or is deduced from things so contained in it: for otherwise the scripture should not be sufficient to our salvation, and the defence of our faith, which is contrary to S. Augustine,"[f] &c. Scotus argues that the scripture teaches what is the end of man, determines what is essential to that end, and explains the nature of spiritual substances as far as is possible for us. Hence, "it is plain that holy scripture contains sufficiently the doctrine necessary to a traveller through this life."[g] The same doctrine is taught by Rupertus Tuitensis, Ockham, Cameracensis, Waldensis, the author of the Destructorium vitiorum, Grosteste, Odo, De Lyra, &c. as our authors have proved.[h] But I not only claim the weight of traditional authority in confirmation of the doctrine of the sixth Article, I claim the authority of the synod of Trent in our favour. The doctrine of the church of England in this Article is more conformable to the decree of that council, than is the opposite opinion of Romish theologians. The synod declares that the Christian "truth and discipline are contained in written books, and unwritten traditions."[i] They were well aware that the controversy then was, whether the Christian doctrine was only *in part* contained in scripture. But they did not dare to frame their decree openly in accordance with the modern Romish view: they did not venture to affirm, as they might easily have done, that the Christian verity "was contained *partly* in written books, and *partly* in unwrit-

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[f] "Constat quia quidlibet tale vel expresse secundum se continetur in sacra scriptura vel ex contentis in ea deducitur, alioquin non ipsa sufficeret ad nostram salutem et nostræ defensionem fidei, &c. quod est contra August."—Greg. Arim. in Sent. Dist. i. qu. i. art. ii.

[g] "Patet quod Sacra Scriptura sufficienter continet doctrinam necessariam viatori."—Scotus, Prolog. 1. sent. qu. 2. Oper. t. v. p. 1.

[h] See Taylor's Dissuasive, p. ii. b. i. s. ii. Field, Of the Church, Appendix to book III. chapter 2. Tillotson, Rule of Faith, at the end.

[i] "Perspiciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam (Evangelii) contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus," &c.—Sess. iv.

ten traditions." Their decree maintains our doctrine. "The Christian truth and discipline are contained in written books." We admit it. "They are contained in unwritten traditions also." We admit it: these traditions confirm, and are identically the same with the doctrines of scripture. Thus, to say the least, our doctrine has just as much support from the council of Trent as that of our opponents. And accordingly we find even Roman theologians admitting the perfection of scripture.

Cassander regards scripture and tradition as only different forms of the same doctrine. "In what concerns questions of faith, there is nothing which is not in some manner contained in scripture, since this tradition is nothing else but the explanation and interpretation of scripture itself, so that it might be not improperly said, that scripture is a sort of tradition folded and sealed, and tradition is scripture unfolded and unsealed."[k]

Cardinal Du Perron says, "To affirm that scripture is sufficient to bring us to salvation, if it be understood mediately, that is, with the addition of the means ordained for its explanation and application, *i. e.* the ministry of the church; this proposition is *true and catholic*."[l] Veron in his Rule of Faith says, that "*two things must be united* in order that any doctrine should be an article of the catholic faith: one, that it be revealed of God by the prophets, apostles, or *canonical authors* (evidently referring to scripture); the other that it be proposed by the church." And lest his meaning should be mistaken, he says shortly after, of a certain doctrine, "that it is neither found expressed in *Scripture, nor in the General Councils*, and therefore theolo-

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[k] Cassander, De officio pii viri, in principio.—Goldast. Politica Imperialia, p. 1292.

[l] Du Perron, Lettre à M. de Cherelles, p. 843. Œuvres, Paris, 1622. "Et partant affermer que l'escriture est suffisante pour nous conduire à salut, si cela s'entend médiatement, c'est à dire, avec l'imposition du moyen ordonné pour l'expliquer et appliquer, à sçavoir le ministère de l'Eglise, cette proposition est véritable et catholique."

gians freely hold a different doctrine,"[m] &c. Bossuet argues against the temporal supremacy of the Roman bishop from its not being mentioned in scripture.[n] The Jesuit White says: "It is not the catholic position that all its doctrines are not contained in the scriptures."[o] Bailly in replying to a passage from S. Cyril on this subject admits, that "not the smallest thing should be taught *without the scriptures*, whose interpretation belongs to the church. . . . It is true indeed that the whole Christian faith has its force from demonstration of the divine scriptures, or that the scriptures are the foundation of our faith, because the doctrines of the faith are proved by the scriptures, and because the authority of the church, and necessity and truth of traditions are founded on Scripture."[p] In another place he says: "Catholics indeed acknowledge scripture to be the rule of faith and morals, but affirm the authority of the church to be necessary to determine controversies, and to interpret the meaning of scripture,"[q] &c. La Mennais, in his Essai sur l'Indifférence, written while he was of high reputation in the Roman church, says that the laws and truths of revelation are comprised in scripture, though tradition and the church explain their meaning.[r]

And in fine, all the theologians of the Roman obedience testify involuntarily their persuasion that, after all, scriptural proof is necessary, by attempting to prove for themselves from scrip ture, every point of doctrine or discipline, which they assure *us* is only to be proved from tradition. According to Trevern, Delahogue, &c. infant baptism, and baptism by sprinkling, are

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[m] Veronii Regula Fidei, cap. i. sec. 2.

[n] Bossuet, Defensio Declar. Cler. Gall. lib. i. sect. i. c. 6. Œuvres, t. xxxi. p. 223. ed 1817.

[o] White, Apology for Tradition, p. 171, cited by Tillotson, Rule of Faith, part i. sec. 3.

[p] Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. t. i. p. 337.

[q] Ibid. p. 294.

[r] La Mennais, Essai sur l'Indifférence, t. iv. p. 210.

only proved by tradition.[s] Bellarmine, Tournely, &c. prove them from scripture.[t] According to Milner and Melchior Canus, the lawfulness of praying to saints, and worshipping their images and relics rests only on tradition.[u] Milner himself and the Wallemburgs find it in scripture.[v] So it is with the other doctrines and practices which they pretend to be founded on tradition only, and therefore I claim the inconsistencies of the Roman theologians on the subject of tradition, as a proof of the error of their system. I assert without fear of effectual contradiction, that the opinion that scripture contains only a portion of revelation, is not a doctrine which the Roman church has ever proposed as *de fide*, or even declared to be true; and that it is nothing but a mere theological opinion, which happens to be supported by the majority of their modern theologians. And I may add, that the doctrine of the sixth Article may be held free from all censure in the Roman church. How utterly absurd therefore is it in M. Trevern[w] and other Roman controversialists to pretend that our catholic and apostolic churches have fallen into any doctrinal error in this Article. Such an assertion can only arise from ignorance of the genuine sentiments of the catholic church, or from mere prejudice and uncharitable feeling.

III. Arguments from Scripture.

Some of our writers argue from scripture itself in proof that

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[s] Trevern, Discuss. Amic. t. i. p. 176. Delahogue, de Ecclesia, Append. de Traditione.

[t] Bellarminus, Lib. de Bapt. c. 8, 9. Tournely, Tractatus de Baptismo, p. 306.

[u] Melchior Canus, Loci Theolog. lib. iii. c. 3. Milner, end of Controv. p. 109.

[v] Milner, p. 251. Wallenburch, Tract. Generales de Controv. Fidei, t. i. p. 441. 447.

[w] Trevern, Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 174, 5. pretends that the principle of the sixth Article was adopted from our *ignorance* of antiquity. We might with more reason say, that the opposite principle was. It is well known that the writings of the Fathers were better known to those who promoted the Reformation than to those who opposed it.

all articles of faith are contained in it. But it seems to me that this is an argument which might be omitted with advantage to the truth, since the texts which are adduced, admit of a very different interpretation.

The following texts are alleged. "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it."[x] "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul."[y] The first text seems merely to enjoin obedience to God's word or commandments in general, whether they be written or unwritten. The second acknowledges the law of God to be a great blessing, but does not intimate that it is all contained in scripture only. "It seemed good to me also . . . . to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed."[z] "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name."[a] "Moreover, I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things in remembrance."[b] "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book,"[c] &c. These four passages at most only assert the authority of the particular books in which they appear. The three first cannot prove that all revealed truth is contained in scripture only, because they would equally prove that it was contained severally in the particular gospels of Luke and John, and in the epistles of Peter, which no one will contend. The last passage relates entirely to the uncorrupted preservation of the text of the book of Revelations.

"Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me."[d] Admitting, merely for the sake of argument, that this translation is strictly

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[x] Deut. iv. 2. [y] Ps. xix. 7. [z] Luke i. 3, 4.
[a] John xx. 31. [b] 2 Pet. i. 15. [c] Rev. xxii. 18, 19.
[d] John v. 39.

correct, the Jews are here directed to examine the prophecies of the Old Testament which testified to the divine mission of Jesus. But surely there is no reference to the question of tradition. The Old Testament might testify of *Christ*, and yet there might be also divine unwritten traditions, which though they did not testify of Christ, testified of other truths or duties.

"Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema."[e] This passage merely speaks of the gospel in the abstract, leaving entirely untouched the question of the mode of its transmission. "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."[f] St. Paul here, apparently, refers to the Old Testament, which alone Timothy knew "from a child," and which, in order to dispel the notion that he contradicted Moses and the prophets, he here pronounces to be inspired and "profitable to all teachers."[g] Yet the Old Testament did not *then* contain all revealed truth. Therefore the Bible generally may be inspired and "profitable for doctrine, &c. and yet some revealed truths may have been handed down by tradition only."

"Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?"—"In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."[h] Our Saviour here condemns the Jews for upholding traditions opposed to God's commandments, and as teaching such traditions principally, to the exclusion of God's laws, or as matters of equal or superior obligation. But this only refers to *human* traditions: it does not refer to unwritten *divine* traditions, if there be any such.

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[e] Gal. i. 8. [f] 2 Tim. iii. 15—17.

[g] It is thus understood by Whitby, Macknight, and Slade, *in loc.*

[h] Matt. xv. 4. 9.

It appears to me that these various passages of Scripture, adduced to prove that no part of Christian truth can be conveyed by unwritten tradition only, are insufficient for the purpose. In the Objections I shall prove that the opposite doctrine is equally without proof from Scripture.

IV. From the insufficiency of Tradition.

It is sometimes contended that unwritten tradition is liable to be corrupted, and that it would be improbable that God should consign his Revelation to so uncertain a mode of conveyance. If Christian tradition were indeed *entirely* unwritten, that is, if uninspired writings did not remain, which attest sufficiently the universal belief of Christians from the apostolic age: it might readily be admitted, that tradition only would be an uncertain proof of Christian doctrine. But there does not seem to be any impossibility, from the nature of tradition, that some truths of Revelation might be handed down by it, with the assistance of Divine grace. In fact, if we urge the uncertainty of tradition *generally*, it may cause very serious inconveniences, for the authenticity and genuineness of the books of Scripture rest in no inconsiderable degree on the testimony of primitive tradition. This is affirmed by Hooker, Whitaker, Field, Laud, Chillingworth, Lardner, Paley, Marsh, &c. But though tradition might possibly suffice for the delivery of a creed containing *very few* articles, like that of the patriarchs till the time of Moses, it does not by any means follow, that it would be sufficient to convey a widely-extended revelation like Christianity.

From what has been alleged above from theological reasons, and the general persuasion of Christians, and on the assumption that our opponents cannot prove their position (which will be shown in replying to Objections), I conclude that the doctrine of the sixth Article, which affirms all matters of faith to be contained in scripture, is true.

I also conclude that the contrary assertion of Roman theologians is a serious error, because it is apparently inconsistent with the Divine attributes, and is calculated to cause unneces-

sary difficulties. But as it does not actually subvert revelation, and is not directly opposed to scripture, it need not be regarded as absolutely contrary to faith.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Religion was preserved among the patriarchs till the time of Moses by unwritten tradition only, and tradition alone conveyed Christian doctrine at first, till the books of the New Testament were written. Therefore it is sufficient for the conveyance of Christian doctrine. (Delahogue, Milner, &c.)

Answer. (1.) Religion was preserved in the time of the patriarchs not only by tradition but by repeated *revelations* to Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, &c. (2.) I admit that oral tradition alone was sufficient to teach Christian doctrine to the first converts, but it does not follow that it was sufficient to carry it down for 1800 years. (3.) If it be meant that the *whole* Christian faith might have been preserved with sufficient security without scripture, then it follows that scripture was given in vain, which would be an impious and detestable assertion. If it be meant that a *part* of the Christian faith might have been conveyed by tradition, then I deny the analogy of cases in which there were no scriptures, to that in which the scripture exists.

II. Tradition was the original rule of faith in the Christian church. Yet this original rule you suppose to have become useless as soon as God deigned to add a second. (Trevern, Bossuet.)

Answer. We teach that scripture and tradition together were designed by God to sustain the truth. Our opponents regard tradition alone as sufficient; therefore they detract from the value and necessity of scripture.

III. Christ only commanded his apostles to *preach* the gospel; he did not command the scriptures to be written. The apostles before their separation made no arrangements for com-

mitting the gospel to writing. The gospels and epistles were written fortuitously, under the pressure of circumstances, and not generally with the avowed purpose of preserving the Christian faith. Some apostles wrote nothing at all; and in fine, had the sacred writers designed to commit all Christian doctrines to writing, they would have composed some one book systematically arranged. (Trevern, Milner, Delahogue.)

Answer. It is an article of the catholic faith that scripture was written by the will and inspiration of God. Therefore, however apparently fortuitous the immediate origin of its books may have been, it is *de fide* that they were not written merely by the will of man, or fortuitously, or without a profound counsel. Hence, all the above objections are worthy of censure, as manifestly erroneous, and tending to infidelity, because they all lead to a denial of the divine inspiration of scripture. In fine, it is rash and presumptuous to affirm that *systematic* arrangement was necessary, in case God had designed to convey the whole of his revelation in scripture; for we see no system in the discourses of Jesus Christ, and whatever course God adopts in making his revelation, must be the best for his divine purposes.

IV. The authenticity and genuineness of scripture rest entirely on the infallible authority of the existing catholic church, therefore you are bound to receive her testimony to all doctrines, even without scriptural proof.

Answer. We positively refuse to make any answer to this argument, until those who advance it shall affirm that all the arguments by which Bellarmine, Bossuet, Huet, Bergier, Duvoisin, Hooke, Fraysinnous, Bouvier, La Mennais, and all their own theologians,[i] prove the authenticity and genuineness

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[i] Bellarmine himself proves scripture to be the word of God not by the infallible authority of the church, but by *testimony* De Verbo Dei, lib. i. c. 2. Driedo also proves the scriptures from the succession of the fathers, and not from the testimony of the existing church.—De Eccl. Script. et Dogmat. c. i. Lovanii, 1556. See also Bossuet, Histoire Universelle, part.

of scripture against infidels, and which are *our* arguments, are invalid. If they affirm this, we shall know the principles of our opponents: if they refuse to affirm it, their argument is at an end.

V. The variations of texts and versions of scripture render it necessary to rely entirely on the existing church for the meaning of scripture, therefore its doctrines must be implicitly received without any proof from scripture.

Answer. Bossuet replies to this objection as employed by infidels: "Qu'on me dise s'il n'est pas constant que de toutes les versions, et de tout le texte *quelqu'il soit*, il en reviendra toujours les mêmes lois, les mêmes miracles, les mêmes prédictions, la même suite d'histoire, *le même corps de doctrine*, et enfin la même substance. En quoi nuisent après cela les diversités des textes? Que nous falloit-il davantage que ce fond inaltérable des livres sacrés, et que pouvionsnous demander de plus à la Divine Providence?"[k]

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ii. chap. 27. Huetii Demonstratio Evangelica; Bergier, Certitude des Preuves du Christianisme; Hooke, Relig. Nat. et Rev. Principia, t. ii.; Fraysinnous, Défense du Christianisme, t. ii.—That the books of Scripture are only proved genuine and authentic by unwritten tradition, which we are therefore bound to receive even without scripture in proof of catholic doctrine, is asserted by Eckius, Enchiridion, p. 7; Hosius, Oper. t. i. p. 22; Peresius de Divin. Trad. p. 14—21; Alphons. à Castro, Advers. Hæres. lib. i. c. 5. p. 25; Petrus Canisius, Opus Catecheticum, De Præcept. Eccl. qu. 16. p. 161; Lindanus, Panoplia Evangelica, Col. Agrip. 1575, p. 3. 34. 70. 72. 79. 81. 480. 488; Cardillus, Disputat. adv. Protestat. xxxiv. Hæret. fol. 149, Venet. 1564; Rutlandus, Loci communes, fol. 18; Pighius, Hierarch. Eccl. lib. i. c. 2. The first part of their argument (which is styled by Eckius "Achilles pro Catholicis") could not have been objected to, if it merely went to show, that the tradition of all ages should not be rejected by Christians, and that the existing tradition, so far as it agreed with the universal tradition, was binding; but it does not thence follow that such a tradition is to be received *without Scripture* as a proof of Christian doctrine, because we deny that any doctrine so universally received can be without scriptural proof also.

[k] Bossuet, Histoire Universelle, t. ii. p. 193.

VI. There is nothing but the unwritten tradition to prove several doctrines and practices which the British churches admit, such as the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Divinity and the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, the perpetual virginity of the Mother of "God manifested in the flesh," the validity of infant baptism, and of baptism by heretics, and baptism by sprinkling, the non-obligation of the precept concerning blood and things strangled, the observation of the Lord's day instead of the Jewish sabbath.

Answer. The Fathers and the theologians of the Roman church prove the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and the Divinity and Procession of the Holy Spirit from scripture.[l] The perpetual virginity is gathered from scripture by some writers.[m] The validity of infant baptism, and by sprinkling, is deduced from scripture by Bellarmine, Tournely, and other Roman theologians.[n] The validity of all heretical baptism has never been decided by the church.[o] It is a very different thing to allow that the church need not repeat this rite administered in heresy, on the conversion of heretics; and to affirm that when

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[l] Athanasius, Ephiphanius, Gregory Nyssene, and others, proved the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, and the Trinity, from scripture. Athanasius asserts that it affords sufficient evidence against the Arians, Oper. t. iii. p. 720. The Roman theologians themselves always argue from scripture in their controversies with heretics. Therefore we deny their right to make this objection. The heretics who deny these articles of the catholic faith, have no resource except to corrupt and to mutilate the text of scripture.

[m] Jerome, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, adduced scripture in proof of the perpetual virginity. See Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive, part ii. b. i. s. 2. p. 211. Oxford ed. See also Pearson on the creed, Article III.

[n] Bellarminus, Lib. de Baptismo, c. 8, 9; Tournely, Tractat. de Baptismo, p. 306, &c.

[o] The authority on which modern writers allege that the church condemned the re-baptizing of heretics is that of St. Augustine, who affirms that it was condemned by a general council; but it is impossible to determine exactly what council St. Augustine means. See Tournely de Sacramentis in genere, 463, &c.

conferred by heretics with the usual form, it must necessarily be acknowledged.[p] With regard to the precept concerning blood and things strangled, it would seem that the tradition of the catholic church is rather in favour of its continual obligation. Certain it is, that Tertullian, Origen, and the early fathers generally, accounted it binding. The canons of the Eastern and Western councils for many ages enforced it; the Oriental church observes it strictly to the present day; and if the West seems to have not adhered generally to it, there has been no definition of the church abrogating it. The contrary custom may have arisen from abuse.[q] With regard to the sabbath, it may be observed, that though all Gentile Christians from the beginning have agreed in regarding the religious observation of the Lord's day as obligatory, and the Jewish sabbath as not obligatory, there have been disputes as to the authority on which the former rests. Roman theologians themselves are divided on

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[p] See chap. iv. s. ii. and part vi. chap. vi. Heretical baptism was disallowed in the churches of Africa, Alexandria, and the East, by St. Cyprian, Firmilian, Basil, Athanasius, Optatus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and by the apostolic canons and the canonical epistle of Basil, which are still received by the whole Oriental church. On the other side is the tradition of the Roman church, of St. Augustine and other fathers. The general councils of Nice and Constantinople admitted the baptism of some heretics and rejected that of others. Altogether it seems that the catholic church is free to confirm or disallow the baptism of heretics, as she judges most for the interest of religion. [A strange remark! The commission to baptize is from HIM who ordained the sacrament, and dispenses the sacramental grace. It is validly possessed, and lawfully exercised, or not. It lies with the church to declare the fact: but, that once ascertained, how will her judgment affect the ordinance? Will it supply the defect of commission, if that be invalid? If otherwise, will the church's disallowance *destroy* the sacrament, validly though irregularly administered; or hinder its availment to the receiver, on his renunciation of the heresy of the minister? These are questions not to be settled in the fag end of a note.]

[q] See Grotius, quoted in Pole's Synopsis on Acts xv.; Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, b. i. chap. ii. rule ii.; see also b. iii. chap. vi. rule vi. where he proves that mere custom cannot abrogate a law.

the question whether the observation of the Lord's day is by divine or canonical right.[r] Some hold that the Lord's day succeeded the sabbath, others hold that the Lord's day was entirely of apostolical institution. But these disputes cannot affect the obligation of the Lord's day, which we learn *from scripture* was constituted a feast by the apostles,[s] and which the whole church received from them: and this is sufficient to prove it binding on all Christians, as will be shown in Chapter IV.

VII. Scripture is extremely difficult, obscure, and liable to be misunderstood.[t] Therefore tradition is requisite to determine its meaning.

I answer (1) that scripture plainly teaches the Catholic faith, as the holy fathers, Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, believed. (See Bishop Taylor's Dissuasive, p. ii. b. 1. s. 2.) And as we have seen above (p. 18, 19,) S. Athanasius, and S. Chrysostom held that scripture alone, was, in itself, sufficient for the discovery and protection of the truth. Romanists themselves are compelled to acknowledge that the scripture plainly establishes the authority of the church, the real presence, &c. In fine, those who deny the Catholic faith are generally obliged to mutilate and corrupt the scripture, in order to defend themselves. But (2) we do not

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[r] See Jo. Azorii Institut. Moral. pars ii. lib. i. c. 1, 2; A. M. de Ligorio, Theol. Moral. lib. iii. tract iii. n. 265; Dens, Theologia, t. ii. p. 371.

[s] Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2; Rev. i. 10.

[t] The difficulties and obscurities of Scripture are detailed at great length by Michael Medina, De Rect. in Deum Fide, lib. vii.; Bellarmine, De Verbi Dei lib. iii.; De Verbi Dei Interpretatione, c. i.; and others innumerable. Milner, End of Contr. let. ix. employs the same arguments. Chemnitz says that Eckius, Emser, and the first writers against the Reformation, did not refuse to argue from scripture; but Pighius, finding this detrimental to his cause, invented the mode of arguing on the insufficiency, obscurity, and ambiguity of scripture, and the necessity of unwritten tradition, in which he was followed by all the Roman theologians.—Examen Concilii Trid. p. 13.

deny that tradition is requisite to confirm *the plain meaning* of scripture against the *perversions of heretics*. We only deny that it conveys articles of faith not contained in scripture.

VIII. It is argued from scripture itself that the whole of revelation is not contained in it, but that part is taught by unwritten tradition only.[u] (1.) "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle."[v]

Answer. It is evident there are many revealed truths not contained in the epistles to the Thessalonians; but those truths *may* have been written in other books of scripture before or after those epistles were composed. Therefore there is no proof from this passage that all the truths of revelation were not written. (2.) "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust"—"Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me."[w] *Answer.* In these passages the apostle exhorts Timothy to preserve the doctrines he had learned, but it does not follow that those doctrines were not also written in scripture. The creed is taught to catechumens, yet all its articles are in scripture also. (3.) Christ "showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."[x] It is improbable that all things he then spoke of were afterwards written; and St. John says, "there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." *Answer.* Admitting, what cannot be *proved*, that Christ did then or at any time teach truths which were not afterwards written, those truths may not have been necessary for the church generally, but designed only for some temporary or particular use. There-

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[u] These texts are employed by Delahogue, Trevern, De la Luzerne, Milner, &c.

[v] 2. Thess. ii. 15.

[w] 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 13; ii. 2. [x] Acts i. 3.

fore there is no sort of proof from this, that the whole of revealed truth designed to be believed by men in all ages, was not written afterwards.

IX. Various passages of the fathers prove that scripture does not contain the whole of revelation.

(1.) S. Irenæus: "Nothing is more easy to those who seek for the truth, than to remark in every church *the tradition* which the apostles have manifested to all the world."[y]—"The tongues of nations vary, but the virtue of *tradition is every where one and the same:* nor do the churches in Germany believe or teach differently from those in Spain, Gaul," &c.—"Supposing the apostles had not left us the scriptures, ought we not still to have followed the ordinance of tradition,"[z] &c.

Answer. All these passages merely establish the authority of tradition, which our catholic churches admit: they do not afford a shadow of proof that scripture does not contain the whole of revealed truth.

(2.) Tertullian: "To the scriptures no appeal must be made, on them no contest should be instituted, where victory is uncertain . . . . the question is: *to whom* was that doctrine committed by which we are made Christians? For where this doctrine and this faith shall be found, *there* will be the truth of the scripture, and of the interpretation of it, and of all Christian traditions."[a]—"Of these and other usages, if you ask for the written authority of the scriptures, none will be found. They spring from tradition, are confirmed by custom, and ratified by belief."[b]

Answer. In the first passage Tertullian, in order to refute the perverse interpretations of heretics, establishes our doctrine, that the church's tradition is the true interpretation of scripture. He does not allude to the question whether tradition

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[y] Irenæus adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 5.

[z] Lib. i. c. 3. Lib. iii. c. 4.

[a] Tertullian, De Præscript., c. xix.

[b] Tertullian, De Corona Militis, c. iv.

conveys any truths of revelation which are not also in scripture. In the second passage he establishes the lawfulness of certain practices from apostolic tradition as we do: but these practices or rites were not part of the revelation made by God.

(3.) S. Basil: "Among the points of belief and practice in the church, some were delivered in writing, while others were received by apostolic tradition in mystery, that is, in a hidden manner; but both have an equal efficacy in the promotion of piety; nor are they opposed by any one who is but slightly versed in ecclesiastical rights."[c] &c.

Answer. S. Basil held our opinion, as we have seen (page 18). He is here arguing with those who objected to the *form* of ascribing glory to the Holy Ghost used in the church, because it was not *expressly written* in scripture: against such he argues that tradition alone is sufficient to justify *forms and rites;* for that this is his meaning appears, by his referring to a number of rites and forms which were only derived from tradition. If this eminent writer meant to go further, we must only say with the Romanist Delahogue; "Non semper ad vivum urgenda sunt Patrum verba, et speciatim ubi adversus hæreticos disputant: vehemens enim cum adversariis contentio, inquit Theodoretus Dialogo 3°, quandoque facit ut modum excedant,"[d] &c. And as Vincentius Lirinensis says, "Whatever any one may think *beyond* all or *against* all, though he may be holy and learned, a bishop, a confessor, or a martyr, should be placed among peculiar, secret, private opinions, apart from the authority of the common, public, and general doctrine."[e] Now, the whole weight of tradition is in favour of the perfection of scripture.

(4.) S. Epiphanius: "We must look also to tradition, for all things cannot be learned from scripture. For which reason

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[c] Basil, De Spiritu Sancto, c. 27. See also c. 29. t. iii. oper. Ben.

[d] Delahogue, De Ecclesia Christi, p. 436.

[e] Vincentii Lirinens. Commonitor. c. 28.

the holy apostles left some things in writing and others not,"[f] &c.

S. John Chrysostom: "Hence it is plain that they did not deliver all things by epistle, but many without writing: yet the latter are worthy of faith like the former. Wherefore let us hold the traditions of the church to be worthy of faith. It is a tradition: seek nothing more."[g]

Answer. S. Epiphanius alludes to matters of discipline, which we admit were not all written. Chrysostom, as we have seen (p. 19) maintained the perfection of scripture. He here piously urges the credibility of the church in general; but if his words be strictly taken to mean that any part of the catholic faith was handed down without scriptural proof, we must consider it as an inaccuracy, which cannot have any weight against the general sentiment of the church.

(5.) The synod of Nice determined the consubstantiality of the Son both by scripture and tradition, therefore the principle of the sixth Article is wrong.[h]

Answer. The Article does not deny that Christian doctrine should be proved *both* by scripture and tradition, which is the doctrine of our churches. Our opponents hold that tradition *only* is sufficient, therefore they, and not we, contradict the synod of Nice.

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[f] Epiphanii Hæres. lxi. Oper. t. i. p. 511.

[g] Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in 2 Thess. c. iii. Oper. p. 532. t. xi.

[h] Trevern, Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 185.

CHAPTER II.

ON DEDUCTIONS FROM SCRIPTURE.

HAVING established the first truth of the sixth Article, I now proceed to another, which is of even greater importance; namely, that not only what is "read" in scripture, but what is "proved thereby," may be an article of faith. It has been alleged that the article merely implies that if a point *cannot* be proved out of scripture, it is no truth of revelation; but that it does not follow that what *can* be proved out of scripture must therefore be a truth of revelation.[a] This objection is equally applicable to the other assertion of the Article, and would prove that what is "read" in scripture may not be a truth of revelation. The simple question is, whether the Article does not admit "scriptural proof" *as much* as the express words of scripture, to be sufficient to establish articles of faith: and that it does so is evident from the disjunction "whatsoever is not read therein, *nor may be proved thereby*, is not to be required of any man," &c.

The doctrine now under consideration involves two questions:

First, whether any deductions from scripture, in the sense of *interpretations*, are matters of revelation and articles of faith?

Secondly, whether all deductions from scripture interpretations are merely matters of opinion and human speculation?

On the determination of these questions the whole fabric of Christian doctrine, nay, the truth of revelation itself depends. If the latter be determined in the affirmative, it is most true, as it has been alleged, that the differences between the various so-

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[a] Hampden, Observations on Religious Dissent, p. 9. 2d ed.

cieties of professing Christians are unimportant.[b] Socinians, Pelagians, &c. cannot be regarded as heretics,[c] for the doctrines of the Trinity, the real divinity of Jesus Christ, Original Sin, &c. being only "*proved*" by scripture, are of course to be regarded as human speculations. On the same principle the doctrinal statements of the Articles and Creeds in general are merely "pious opinions,"[d] which it must be uncharitable to urge as matters of faith, or as a mark of discrimination between Christian and Christian.[e] Thus the necessity of believing the most vital truths of Christianity is subverted.

If the former question be determined in the negative, that is, if no "interpretations" of scripture be matters of faith,[f] then the same consequences as before follow in a still greater degree, because *every* doctrine and duty of religion rests on the interpretation or meaning of scripture, and if no particular interpretation is necessary to salvation, no particular belief or practice can be requisite to salvation.

This is a conclusion in which the mind cannot rest. Either it is false; or Christianity is a delusion.

I. If the scripture be a revelation from God to man for his salvation, it must have a fixed meaning impressed on it by God himself, for the object of the All-merciful and All-wise Creator in presenting to us the scripture could not have been merely that we might possess a book without meaning. On the contrary it is manifest, that the *sole immediate object* which God could have had in view, in clothing his revelation in language, was, that it might convey to us a certain *meaning* which we call the interpretation. Language would be entirely worthless in a revelation, except as a medium for conveying the *Divine meaning*.

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[b] Hamp. p. 4, 5. "If I prove my point," said Tindal the deist, "I shall, it may be hoped, in some measure put an end to those otherwise endless disputes which divide and distract the Christian world."—Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 121.

[c] Hamp. p. 19, 20, 21. 26, 27.

[d] Ibid. p. 14.

[e] Ibid. p. 5. compared with p. 14. 21, 22.

[f] Ibid. p. 4. 7.

Those therefore who maintain that all interpretations of the language of scripture are merely human, and that no one interpretation is necessary to be held, must advance another step, and either admit that the scriptures do not contain any Divine revelation necessary to be believed,[g] or else blasphemously assert that God made a revelation consisting of *language without meaning*, or at least without any meaning discernible by the very creatures to whose belief it was proposed.

It is true indeed, that arguments from the mere *terms* of scripture used to designate the Divine nature, when taken in any sense founded on merely human reason or experience, can add nothing to the sum of Christian knowledge; may even lead to dangerous errors: but deductions from scripture in the sense of *interpretations* of propositions, constitute the very substance and reality of the Gospel, of which the words are only signs. I need scarcely dwell further on this point: for it involves so directly the question of the necessity of belief in *any* Christian doctrine, and therefore the necessity and truth of the whole Christian revelation, that a believer cannot hesitate in deciding on which side Christianity lies.

II. In maintaining that deductions from scripture rightly interpreted, are sufficient to establish articles of faith, we must state the question clearly. It is not meant that *new truths not taught by revelation*, can be deduced from those that are, by the force of human reasoning; but that scripture may supply such premises that the conclusion is manifestly taught by scrip-

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[g] Morgan the infidel argues, that after the most honest inquiries, men understand the same verbal propositions of Scripture in different senses, and that "the doctrines doubtless consist of the sense and not in the verbal propositions abstracted from their meaning; and therefore if two men believe the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Christ's satisfaction, &c. in different senses, they really believe different doctrines about the same thing: but is it not strange that God should reveal a religion as of any necessity or use to mankind, which is not to be understood in any one certain determinate sense, but may be taken in as many different senses," &c.?—Moral Philosopher, p. 18.

ture itself. *E. g.* if in one part of scripture attributes are ascribed to a Being, which we are elsewhere told belong to God only, it follows necessarily that this Being is God. The conclusion is irresistible. If the scripture teaches the premises it teaches this conclusion: and to suppose that the conclusion is not true, or that it may be held doubtful or needless to be believed, is to suppose that scripture is calculated to lead men into error.

The same may be observed of conclusions which follow from a truth revealed in scripture, and from some other truth self-evident, or supported by the testimony of sense, and always *universally admitted*. *E. g.* if scripture affirms that Christ was made perfectly man, it also teaches that he is not without those powers or that portion of human nature which we call the soul, and the existence of which we know intuitively. The reason is, because revelation is addressed to man as man, and therefore must presuppose all those principles and notions which are essential to human nature.

It is not meant that *every* deduction from the divine truths of scripture is a matter of faith, for there may be different degrees of clearness in the argument; but I am now only speaking of the abstract possibility of a case in which scripture shall teach a truth, by teaching what necessarily infers it.

There is no impossibility that God should choose to reveal some scriptural truths in this manner, and not in express terms, because even if he intended them to be believed explicitly by all his people, he might provide in his *church*, means by which those conclusions might be taught and proved to all from scripture. He might design by this method to excite men to the study of scripture, and to impose an important duty on his ministers.

If the apostles, if Christ himself, acting as we believe under Divine inspiration, taught either by word or writing certain truths, from which others inevitably follow according to all the rules of reason and common sense; then, unless there was some most clear and unquestionable declaration made by the

same authority, that the *former truths alone were binding on Christians as articles of faith*, it must have been the intention of Christ and the apostles that both kinds of truth should be believed equally; for it is impossible that they could have designed to oblige men to believe what was unnecessary, and equally impossible that they should have deceived them through inadvertence, or neglect. Consequently we have a right to demand from those who assert that conclusions which follow necessarily from the doctrine of scripture are not binding, some distinct unquestionable *proof* of this assertion delivered in *express terms in scripture*. If it be maintained without any such proof, then the integrity, the equity, the inspiration, of the sacred writers, are denied.

I will not urge the practice of our Lord and the apostles in arguing with Jews and unbelievers by means of deductions made from scripture.[h] A practice which was adopted uniformly by all the Christian church in all subsequent ages,[i] which was even employed by sects[k] which pretended to deny its validity when convincingly directed by the church against their heresies,[l] has so great a weight of authority and probability attached to it, that the strongest evidence alone could demonstrate its inefficiency. It is surely to the last degree improbable, even humanly speaking, that the whole body of Christians from the beginning should have mistaken altogether the mode of argument in proof of the articles of their faith.

In supposing that what is necessarily, by all the rules of reason deduced from scriptural doctrine, was designed to be believed by those to whom scripture is addressed, we make no improbable assumption. We merely assume that the scriptures were not designed to deceive us, that they were addressed to man as he is by nature, a rational being capable of perceiving

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[h] Thomas' Tracts on Scrip. Consequences, p. 58. 92.

[i] Spanhemii Disputat. Theol. pars ii. disp. xxvi. See Mr. Thomas' Tracts, p. 62, 63.

[k] Ibid. p. 82, 83.

[l] Ibid. 62—64.

certain conclusions. We do not assume here that there are *actually* in scripture doctrines from which others inevitably follow: we only affirm that *if* there are such, the conclusions are binding.

The denial of this without clear proof from revelation is not merely an error. It is a presumptuous and pernicious error, because it decides the particular mode in which God's revelation must be made, and thus would permit man to disbelieve whatever has not been revealed in the way he judges fit. On this principle infidels reject Christianity as only a partial revelation, or as not brought home to every man's mind by special illumination.

This has always been the mode in which the opponents of the truth, when hard pressed by scriptural arguments, have endeavoured to defend themselves. The Arians demanded the express words of scripture in proof of the Christian doctrine of the Consubstantiality of the son.[m] The Macedonians required the same in proof of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.[n] The Apolinarians, the Monophysites,[o] the Anabaptists, Familists, Antinomians, modern Arians, Socinians, and Rationalists,[p] have all in their turn sheltered their errors from the otherwise irresistible force of scriptural argument, by insisting on the express words of scripture. This train is appropriately closed by Morgan the infidel, who assailed the doctrine of Scripture Consequences, early in the last century.[q] It will be found on examina-

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[m] Vigilii Tapsensis Dialog. contr. Arium, lib. i. oper. p. 93. ed. 1664.

[n] Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 5. de Theologia.

[o] Maximus Monarchus, see Mr. Thomas' Tracts, p. 90.

[p] Ibid. p. 49, 100. 127. 204. The Rationalist Bretschneider triumphantly asks where in Scripture are the words trinity, atonement, original sin, &c. —Rose, State of Protestantism in Germany, Appendix, p. 76. I take this occasion of expressing a deep sense of the value of a work which cannot be too widely known or too highly prized. Christians cannot fail to be inspired with greater zeal for the faith, and more watchful care of that precious deposit, by the perusal of "the State of Protestantism in Germany."

[q] See his Letter to the Rev. J. Cumming, cited by Mr. Thomas in his "Tracts on Scripture Consequences," p. 10.

tion, that most if not all the above sects, themselves believed several points founded only on scriptural argument, not on the express words of scripture.

The Wallenburghs in their "Methodus Augustiniana" (a mode of contending with the Lutherans which had been first invented by Du Perron, Verron, &c.), went partly into this principle.[r] The general outline of this system was, to show that the *onus probandi* lay with the Protestants as accusers, reformers, and separatists;[s] that they were bound by their own principles and *professions* to furnish sufficient proof of their doctrines on matters of faith from scripture alone; that this proof ought to be in express terms of scripture, as well from their own principle of the sufficiency of scripture only, as from the ambiguity of consequences, and the incapacity of the people to follow them.[t] Having yielded a confession that the questions in debate were not decided by the express words of scripture, the adversary was next to be required to prove it by consequences deduced from scripture, which were in every instance to be objected to on some of these grounds:[u] 1. Because the proposed interpretation was made without any authority; 2. Because, if it be founded on a comparison of other texts, there is no assertion in *scripture* that they were designed to explain that under consideration; 3. Because scripture does not affirm the goodness of the proposed interpretation; 4. Because every man may err, therefore the deduction may be false; 5. Because none of the fathers made this deduction; 6. Because one of the premises in the deduction is derived from human reasoning,

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[r] Tractatus Generales de Controversiis Fidei per Adrian. et Petrum de Walenburch, t. i. p. 15, &c. and p. 229, &c. Edit. Coloniæ Agripp. 1670. It seems indeed as if some of the Lutherans had spoken injudiciously on this subject. Eckius argues against their mode of requiring the express words of scripture in proof of doctrines. Enchiridion, p. 40, 41.

[s] Walenburch, p. 16. 246, &c.

[t] Ibid. p. 17. 293, &c.

[u] Ibid. p. 18—20. 313, &c.

and therefore uncertain; 7. Because scripture does not decide that conclusions, deduced from premises, one of which rests on human reason, are matters of faith, &c. These objections were to be put in the form of questions, and the adversary was to be obliged, in fine, to confess that the Protestants had separated from the church on points which could not be proved essential. The Lutherans were involved in this net by their own thoughtlessness. Had they not placed themselves in a false position, by pretending to be voluntary separatists, when their predecessors had *not separated*,[v] the *onus probandi* could not have been laid on them. Had they preserved the respect for catholic tradition which the Reformation had so often shown,[w] and not exaggerated the uses of scripture, they could not have been limited to rigid scriptural demonstration. Had they remembered that the Reformation declared that it did not differ in articles of faith from the Roman church,[x] they could not have been required to prove the doctrines in dispute to have been articles of faith. The Wallenburghs themselves acknowledged not only that conclusions derived from *two* scriptural premises were *de fide*,[y] but even that *one* scriptural premise, together with an evident truth of reason, was sufficient to establish a *certain truth*, even a *Divine truth*,[z] though not an article of faith. This would have been sufficient for the Lutheran's purposes in most points; but doctrines which were not actually matters of faith, would not have sufficed to excuse the *voluntary* separation from the church, of which they chose to accuse themselves.

Had the Wallenburghs held that articles of faith could not be deduced, when one of the premises was a merely speculative

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[v] See above, Part I. chap. xii. sect. 1.

[w] Ibid. sect. 3.

[x] See above, Part I. chap. xii. sect. 1. and chap. xi. sect. 1.

[y] Walenburch, ut supra, p. 354. "Convenit inter omnes . . . non esse disputandum de syllogismis quorum utraque præmissarum est Scripturæ."

[z] Ibid. p. 334. "Pro instructione catholici notamus, quando altera præmissarum est scripturæ, altera evidens, et forma argumentationis bona; tunc sequi conclusionem theologicam, prorsus certam et veram: imo talem conclusionem, ex quorundam sententia, non incommodo aliquando dici divinam."

truth, by no means self-evident, and in fact disputed among men, there would have been nothing to object to in their principle. But they do not seem to have distinguished between such truths, and those which were universally admitted.

OBJECTIONS.

I. All interpretations or deductions made by individuals are uncertain, and insufficient to serve as a foundation for faith, because no man is infallible. If, indeed, the true interpretation of scripture were certainly discernible, it would be obligatory on men; but the age of inspiration, and therefore of infallibility, has passed by.

Answer. I reply that not only is scripture so clear on many points, that an erroneous interpretation can scarcely be forced on it, and those who wish to do so are at last obliged to mutilate it: but we have an unerring guide to the true meaning of scripture in the doctrine of the universal church in all ages, and in the formal and legitimate judgments made by that church in controversies of faith. To these I maintain that every private Christian is bound to submit his private opinion, as to unerring and irrefragable authority. *e. g.* I know the Unitarian doctrine to be heretical and anti-Christian, not only by the clearest proofs from scripture, but by the uniform doctrine of the church in all ages,[a] and especially its unanimous legitimate judgment in the Council of Nice. I know that Unitarianism was from the beginning viewed and treated as a heresy by all Christendom, therefore I cannot *possibly err* in regarding it as such, and in maintaining the catholic faith. Nor am I in the slightest degree obliged to receive on the same principle, the errors of Romanists; unless it be *proved* that they rest on the same authority, which cannot be done.

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[a] The weight of universal tradition against heresies is not only admitted by our theologians, but even by Daillé, and Whitby the Arian. See Waterland's Works, vol. v. p. 275—8.

II. The ignorant cannot make deductions from scriptural truths, therefore the doctrines so deduced cannot be necessary to salvation.

Answer. Though they may not be able to make them themselves, they may be able to see the consequence when proposed to them by ministers authorized by the church, and at all events *believe* it when presented by the sufficient and credible *authority* of the catholic church.

III. Scripture as the will of God must be so perfect as to need no human commentary or reasoning.

Answer. There is no proof that scripture was designed to supersede the necessity of the Christian ministry.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DOCTRINAL TRADITION OF THE CHURCH.

Tradition sometimes means the doctrine held by Christians, as distinguished from the same doctrine written in the Bible. It is also used as equivalent to "custom," as in the thirty-fourth Article. Traditions in the former sense may be divided into those which have been commonly maintained in some particular age only, or which a portion of the church has maintained without separating from the rest;[a] and those which the great body of Christians from the beginning have always held to be articles of the faith. The former class of traditions may be certainly true, but the ecclesiastical authority which supports them can only render them probable. The latter sort of traditions afford an irresistible confirmation of the doctrine of scripture, and a certain test of the correctness of scripture interpretation.

It is not here meant that the real sense of scripture is *obscure* in any points of faith, or that it is essential for each individual, in order to understand the scripture aright in such points, to consult previously the traditions and judgments of the universal church. Even the members of the Roman Obedience do not

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[a] Such was the doctrine of the Millennium as held by Papias, Justin, Melito, Irenæus, Tertullian, Nepos, Adamantius, Victorinus, Lactantius, Apollinarius, Sulpicius Severus; and rejected by Origen, probably by Clement of Alexandria, Dionysius of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine. Even Justin Martyr says that there "were many even of those whose sentiments as Christians were sound and pious, that did not recognize it."—See Mr. Greswell's interesting disquisition on this subject. Exposition of the Parables, vol. i. chap. xxi. part ii. This truly learned writer, who adopts the opinion of the majority of the early writers, regards it as a question in which "great latitude and diversity of sentiment may be innocently and safely allowed to different minds."—Preface.

universally assert any such necessity, though it is too commonly taught by them.[b] Cardinal de la Luzerne says, "Our assertion is not that all the passages of scripture are so obscure, that in order to explain and fix their meaning, it is indispensable to recur to a judge. We say that there are some which ignorance, carelessness, bad reasoning, passion, party-interest, may pervert, and in fact have perverted, to a meaning contrary to sound doctrine."[c] The holy fathers St. Cyril, St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Alexandria, &c. taught that the scriptures were plain and clear in many things.[d] Scripture ought to be of itself sufficient for the overthrow of all errors against faith; but since men are liable to be misled by the evil interpretations of others to misunderstand the divine meaning of scripture, the doctrine or tradition of Christians of all ages, *i. e.* of the catholic church, is presented to us as a confirmation of the true meaning of scripture. It is not meant that this tradition conveys to us the exact interpretation of all the particular texts in the Bible. Its utility is of a simpler and more general character. It relates to the interpretation of scripture as a whole, to the doctrine deduced from it in general. That doctrine which claims to be deduced from scripture, and which all Christians believed from the beginning, must be truly scriptural. That doctrine which claims to be deduced from scripture, and which all the church from the beginning reprobated and abhorred, must be founded on a perversion and misrepresentation of scripture.

The difference between the Anglo-catholic and the popular Romish doctrine of tradition is this. The former only admits tradition as confirmatory of the true meaning of scripture, the latter asserts that it is also *supplementary* to scripture, conveying doctrines which scripture has omitted. "We hold," says

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[b] See Taylor's Dissuasive, p. 196. Oxford ed. 1836; Crakanthorp, De loco arguendi ab Authoritate Logicæ, p. 323. See above, p. 31. 33.

[c] De la Luzerne, Dissertation sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. i. p. 59.

[d] Taylor's Dissuasive, p. 217, &c.

de la Luzerne, "that unwritten tradition is an irrefragable rule of faith in *two* ways: *first, by itself, because there are truths which have only been given to the church by this way:* secondly, because it is the most certain interpreter of the holy scripture, and the infallible means of knowing its meaning."[e]

That such a universal tradition, as determining the meaning of scripture, must be true, is evident. I am not here arguing with infidels; and therefore may assume that Christianity was a revelation, that no revelation has superseded it, that it was to be proposed to men in all ages as the means of salvation; in fine, that some truth was actually revealed. If, then, any given doctrine was universally believed by those Christians who had been instructed by the apostles, and the disciples of the apostles; if this doctrine was received by all succeeding generations as sacred and divine, and strictly conformable to those scriptures which were read and expounded in every church: this belief, one and uniform, received in all churches, delivered through all ages, triumphing over the novel and contradictory doctrines which attempted to pollute it, guarded with jealous care, even to the sacrifice of life in its defence, and after a lapse of eighteen hundred years, believed as firmly by the overwhelming mass of Christians among all nations, as when it was first promulgated: such a doctrine must be a truth of revelation. It rests on evidence not inferior to that which attests the truth of Christianity. Is it possible that the infinite majority of Christians in all ages can have mistaken, or adulterated their own religion, a religion which they held to be divine, and on which they believed their salvation to depend? And this while the scriptures were in their hands, and the care of God was (as Christians believe) extended over His church—the people whom He chose for himself. If so, then they may have been equally deceived as to the authenticity of scripture, as to the truth of the mission of our Saviour; and the whole fabric of revelation totters to its base. Hence, I maintain, that Christians cannot possibly

[e] De la Luzerne, t. ii. p. 321.

admit that any doctrine established by universal tradition can be otherwise than DIVINELY, INFALLIBLY, TRUE.

The existence of such a tradition from the beginning is a matter of fact, which is to be established on the same sort of evidence as proves any other historical fact. The question is, what were the tenets of the religious community called Christian, from the beginning? This is evidently to be proved only by authentic documents, monuments, and facts: and we accordingly adduce the creeds or professions of faith acknowledged by the universal church, in proof of her faith on certain points up to the period when she made them, the creeds and liturgies of particular churches, as evidence of their belief as far back as those creeds and liturgies can be traced. We produce the attestations of particular fathers and councils of bishops to the contemporary and former belief of the church, either by direct assertions to that effect, or by the silent testimony to the same, afforded by the fact of their own express belief, and the approbation of that belief by the church generally. We adduce ancient customs and rites to the same end; and even the objections of infidels, and of sectaries, concur in establishing what was the real faith of the catholic church in all ages.

If proofs like these be rejected on the ground of the uncertainty of all *human testimony*, then there can be no certainty of any of the facts of history, and we are reduced to believe only facts which have come under the cognizance of our own senses. If the testimony of the early Christian writers in this question of fact be rejected, the external evidences of Christianity are subverted. The authenticity of primitive tradition and its records, of scripture and its doctrines, and of Christianity as a revelation, stand or fall together. It is not the defence of any particular doctrine which is involved in the question of the credibility of tradition; the whole fabric of Christianity is vitally connected with it.

In former ages, infidelity openly assailed the truth of Christianity: in later times it has assumed the name of Christianity itself, in order to pursue with more success its plans for the

subversion of faith.[f] The English deists were the predecessors from whom sprang the Rationalists and the Unitarians.[g] These sects are in fact and essentially infidel; for whatever relics of Christian doctrine may still linger among some of them are purely accidental, and are only preserved for a time by inability to carry out the principles professed, and at all events are viewed as mere matters of opinion, and received only on the authority of human reason.[h] But what is their line of argument? Tindal, the deist, commences his attack on revelation by professing to "build nothing on a thing so uncertain as tradition."[i] He charges the primitive Christians and their writers with superstition, intolerance, bigotry.[k] The holy fathers from the earliest times, according to him, were all guilty of falsehood, forgery, fraud, interpolation of scripture,[l] &c. The further back we go the more frauds we find.[m] Hence, he concludes that *external* evidence of a revelation is of no value: internal alone is worthy of attention, and that must be judged by human reason in opposition to all authority.[n] This reason leads him to judge that scripture is full of absurdities and contradictions; that it has been corrupted; that it is not a rule adapted to

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[f] Magee, on Atonement, vol. ii. Append. p. 71; and Rose, Protestantism in Germany, p. 145. 237—240. Append. p. 34. 95. justly remark on the dishonesty of the Socinian and Rationalist infidels, in using the *language* of Christianity as if they believed its mysteries.

[g] See Rose's Protestantism in Germany, p. 51, &c. and the remarks of Dr. Pusey there cited. See also p. 164, and Appendix p. 76, for the identity of the English Socinians and the Rationalists. Belsham, one of the leaders of the former, confessed that the Unitarian creed was the same as that of the French Theophilanthropists or Deists, except in the single point of the mere fact of a man's resurrection.—Magee on Atonement, vol. i. p. 175. See also vol. ii. p. 411. 489.

[h] See Rose, State of Protestantism, p. xxiii. xxiv. for some valuable observations on this subject.

[i] Tindal, Christianity as old as the Creation, p. iii.

[k] Ibid. p. 89, 90. 101.

[l] Ibid. p. 158. 161—4.

[m] Ibid. p. 162.

[n] Ibid. p. 184—194.

mankind generally; in fine, that it is not a revelation.[o] Morgan adopts the same principle. The first disciples, according to him, invented tales about Christ, interpolated passages in the scriptures, which seemed to represent him as God, ascribed miracles to him, united Judaism and Christianity.[p] The catholic church of the first three centuries was persecuting, idolatrous, antichristian,[q] &c. Semler affirmed that the writings of the early fathers were forged at Rome by a set of men "who entered into combination to falsify history and corrupt the scriptures."[r] Of course he was bound to reject their testimony: and accordingly the only proof which he admitted of the divine origin of the books of scripture was, their "utility, or tendency to promote virtue."[s] On this principle he proceeded to reject the Old Testament, and whatever portion of the New he pleased.[t] In the same manner, Schulthess, the deistical professor of theology at Zurich, assails the veracity of the early fathers, imputes to them fraud, ignorance, errors, &c. Hence, he infers that their

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[o] Ibid. p. 96. 158. 195. 216, &c. Tindal argues that the scriptures must have been corrupted, because of the *bigotry* of those to whom in all ages they were chiefly committed, p. 158. Even the Protestant writers, according to him, are full of calumnies, impostures, &c. p. 160.

[p] Morgan, Moral Philosopher, p. 440.

[q] Ibid. p. 378—381. According to him, even from the age of the apostles, the hierarchal bishops and clergy, with their party the catholic church, "assumed a dominion over conscience, lorded it over God's heritage, and claimed and exercised a power absolutely inconsistent with private judgment, rational inquiry, and free choice in religion," p. 383. He observes that the truly primitive Christians in those ages who constituted the minority, were styled *Heretics*, *Gnostics*, &c., and that the *Protestants* are their successors! (380, 381) as the Roman catholic church is the true successor of the catholic church of the three first centuries, 378, 9. Morgan styles his opponents "Judaizing clergy," p. 357, 8.

[r] Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 71.

[s] Rose, State of Protestantism in Germany, p. 82. 2d ed.

[t] Ibid. p. 83, &c. Semler held that "the prophets may have delivered the offspring of their own brains as divine revelations." See Magee on the Atonement, vol. i. p. 174.

testimony to the genuineness, authenticity, and canon of scripture is of no weight; that scripture has no external evidence whatever; that it must be subjected to a judicious criticism founded only on reason, by which it is easily perceived to be interpolated and full of errors; and its authors are convicted of gross and intentional mistakes, anachronisms, and inventions.[u] Hence, he glories in the hope that the day will come when men will not appeal to scripture, but receive doctrines simply as they approve themselves to reason.[v]

It may be observed in general indeed of the various denominations of deists, whether Freethinkers, Theophilanthropists, Socinians, Rationalists, or Unitarians, that, if they unite in treating the body of the early Christian writers of the universal church with contempt or abuse; the scripture itself meets no better treatment from them.[w] The testimony of the early Christians *must* be got rid of by any means, because it is diametrically opposed to deism. When this has been accomplished, the field lies open. Reason emancipated from all other contradiction, is left to deal with the Bible as a human production, and to reject or receive whatever portion it pleases.

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[u] Symbolæ ad internam erit. Librorum Canonic. &c. ab Jo. Schulthess, Turici, 1833, t. i. Præfat. and p. 76.

[v] Præfat. p. xiv.

[w] Middleton (Free Enquiry, p. lxxvi—lxxxvi.) accuses the early fathers of recording and solemnly attesting falsehoods, charges them with forgery, &c. The early ages of the church, according to him, were any thing but pure, heresy abounded, &c. In fine, the opinions or practice of the primitive fathers are to be viewed with perfect indifference. Middleton, in perfect consistency with these notions, represented the fall of man as a mere fable; thereby undermining the whole fabric of Christianity. Hoadly also contemned the tradition of the universal church, but Hoadly declared that original sin was a contradiction in terms, and asserted the right of every man to deny the doctrines of Christianity. Blackburn assailed the fathers (Confessional, chap. viii.); but he asserted the right of each individual to separate from all existing religions, and disbelieved the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

Hence, as the reasoning powers of men vary, some mutilate, others add to the canon of scripture. The text is represented to be full of interpolations, errors, absurdities. The sacred writers are accused of ignorance, contradictions, and deceit: and the legitimate and irresistible conclusion follows, that Christianity was not a revelation, that Christ was only a philosopher, and that man is left to his own reason and his own merits for his hopes and his salvation.

But these men forget their reason and consistency in their haste to subvert the authority of universal Christian tradition. If the early writers of Christianity were all ignorant, bigoted, credulous, enthusiastic, designing, persecuting; if they were guilty of fraud, falsehood, forgery, priestcraft, &c. it is inconceivable that all should have united in testifying to the same doctrine, unless it had been absolutely and infallibly true. A multitude of false witnesses, writing at various times, and in different countries, could not have borne united testimony to falsehood. Their testimony must have varied: it must have been contradictory.[x] Besides this: the utter contradictions of deists show that they are led merely by prejudice and hatred to assail the credit of the Christian writers, and the character of the universal church. One asserts that the writings of the fathers are forged, another that they are interpolated, while a third assails them *en masse*, admitting their genuineness, and charging them with every abomination that can be invented.

It may be concluded on the whole, that those who believe in the Christian revelation *cannot* reject the universal tradition of Christians: and by such a tradition are the doctrines of the real divinity and personality of the Son and the Holy Ghost, the incarnation, suffering, resurrection, atonement, and mediation of Jesus Christ, the necessity of divine grace, the obligation of good works, together with all the other articles of our

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[x] The apophthegm of Tertullian would apply with still greater force in this case. "Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum sed traditum.—De Præscript. c. 27.

faith, defended and supported. For as to the few heretics who have disputed them in different ages, "no more account is to be had of them in religion," as Bishop Beveridge says, "than of monsters in nature."[y] Their opposition served only to prove the universality and the immoveable firmness of the faith which they contradicted. Concerning the articles of the catholic faith thus supported by universal tradition, and equally testified by the holy scripture, we may *reasonably* feel so certain, that no argument, no difficulty should for an instant shake our conviction, and that if an angel descended from heaven and denied any one of them, we should be prepared to say, "Let him be anathema."[z]

An objection may be raised to this mode of confirming Christian truth by tradition, as exacting too minute and extensive examination into questions of fact, and therefore unsuited to mankind generally. But it may be replied, that, setting aside the case of those who have sufficient opportunities to make these researches for themselves, the great mass of Christians have as much evidence of the fact of such a tradition as they have of the authenticity and inspiration of scripture, or of the antiquity and universality of the church. It is only on credible testimony that they are assured that scripture is now, and always has been received by Christians as the word of God, and that it has descended perfect and uncorrupted to the present day. They are incapable of instituting the critical researches which would enable them to dispense on these points

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[y] Beveregii Codex Can. Eccl. Prim. vindicatus, &c. Præfat.

[z] It may be observed that those who despise the testimony of the catholic church to Christian doctrine, generally either forsake the truth or have no settled belief. Episcopius (Oper. t. i. part. ii. p. 127, 128. 132.) and Curcellæus (Oper. p. 32, 33. 691,) disregarded the fathers: but they also held the doctrines of the trinity and the divinity of Christ to be matters non-essential (Episc. Oper. t. i. part i. p. 338, &c. Curcel. Oper. p. 19. 29). The infidel Rationalists of Germany, who also despise the fathers, boast that they alter their belief "*as often as any new views require it.*"—Rose, State of Protest. p. 24.

with the testimony of their church, their pastors, their acquaintances, and every thing around them. If it be said that the doctrines of scripture carry their own evidence along with them to a heart influenced by divine grace, I reply that the doctrines of catholic tradition, which are identically the same, have exactly the same evidence.

But there is another mode in which men may, without any difficulty or research, distinguish the party in whose favour tradition gives its testimony. If on the one side there be a manifest respect for the doctrine of the church in all ages; if there be a willingness to appeal to that doctrine in controversy; if there be a perpetual and confident appeal to it in fact; if this be so notorious, that the opposite party judge these men excessive in their respect for tradition: if on the other side there be an evident anxiety to refuse such an appeal; if there be perpetual efforts to prevent it, by exciting prejudice, and by misrepresenting the simple and rational principle on which it is made; and if the Christian writers are the subject of continual abuse or contempt; then there cannot be any rational doubt that tradition is in favour of the former party, and opposed to the latter. Such, on the one hand, is the position of our catholic and apostolic churches;[a] such, on the other side, is that of the sectarians and of those who have been discontented with the great doctrines and creeds of the church.[b] On the one side we find congregated the overwhelming mass of professing Christians in ancient and modern times, the fathers, the councils, the theologians of all ages. On the other we find Arians, Socinians, Sabellians, Anabaptists, Unitarians, Deists, Rationalists, Pelagians, Antinomians, &c., who, differing between themselves on every article of religion, all agree in refusing any appeal to the tradition of the universal church.

The various methods which these men employ in endeavour-

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[a] See above, Part II. Chapter VI.

[b] Such as Socinus, Biddle, Tindal, Morgan, Clarke, Hoadly, Middleton, Blackburn, Semler, &c.

ing to prevent any appeal to the tradition of the church, may be classed under the following heads :

I. Systematic misrepresentation.

We do not appeal, in proof of Christian doctrine, to the ancient Christian writers as in any way *infallible.* Our sentiments on this head are well known : they have been repeatedly explained.[c] We hold that the doctrine of any father, however great or learned he may have been, *e. g.* that of Augustine, Athanasius, Ambrose, or Basil, is to be *rejected* in any point where it contradicts scripture. We consider all these writers as uninspired men, and therefore liable to mistakes and errors like other theologians. Therefore, it involves a studied misrepresentation of our meaning and principle, when we are met by assertions or proofs that particular fathers have taught errors in faith or morality ;[d] that they were credulous ; that their writings are in some points obscure ;[e] that their criticisms or interpretations of scripture are sometimes mistaken ;[f] that they invented scholastic doctrines, and were tinged with false philosophy ;[g] that the latter fathers were better theologians than the

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[c] See Waterland, Works, vol. v. p. 313, 314, and Thorndike and Sherlock referred to by him.

[d] Whitby, Dissert. Præf. s. iv. p. 15, &c. For replies to this, and all the succeeding objections against the fathers, see Waterland on the importance of the doctrine of Trinity, chap. vii. Melchior Canus de locis Theologicis, lib. vii. and Scrivenerus adv. Dallæum, and others cited by Waterland, Works, vol. v. p. 294.

[e] Daillé, of the Right Use of the Fathers.

[f] Whitby. Dissert. de Script. Interpret.

[g] Hampden, Scholastic Philosophy, passim. The imputation of *scholasticism* to the doctrines of the catholic faith, is a mere hackneyed artifice of deists and misbelievers. Under this pretence, Steinbart the deist, professor of theology at Frankfort, assailed the Christian doctrine (Rose, State of Prot. p. 70). He had been preceded by the Socinian Dr. Bury, who was expelled from the University of Oxford for his heresies ; by Morgan, the infidel, &c. The same pretence is common in the writings of Socinians.—See Mr. Thomas, Tracts on Script. Conseq. p. 6—11.

earlier ;[h] that there are fathers against fathers, and councils against councils, on some points.[i] This is all calculated merely to excite prejudice against an appeal to the doctrine of the church, by misrepresenting our design and principle in making it. Our answer to all these arguments is, that we do not appeal to the fathers as inspired and authoritative writers, but as competent witnesses of the faith held by Christians in their days. If they are not to be trusted in this, they are not to be trusted in their testimony to the facts of Christianity, and the external evidence of revelation is subverted.

II. Pretended respect for religion.

Under this head may be classed that mode of argument which rejects any appeal to the doctrine of the Christian church, under pretence that the word of God alone ought to be the rule of our faith in opposition to all the doctrines of man ; that the scripture constitutes a perfect rule of faith, needing nothing else ; that it must necessarily be plain in all essential points, and that it is its own interpreter.[k] The *end* of all this pretended reverence for scripture is, to obtain an unlimited liberty of interpreting it according to our own reason and judgment, even in opposition to the belief of all Christians from the beginning.[l] But

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[h] Hampden, Scholastic Philosophy, Lect. viii.

[i] Chillingworth's rash and unguarded assertion to this effect, is employed by the infidel Tindal to show that there is no certainty in revelation.— Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 291. It would be a matter of some interest to ascertain what proportion of the heretic and sectarian writers have made this statement of Chillingworth's the basis of their attacks on the orthodox doctrine. It stands conspicuous in almost every writing of that kind which I have seen.

[k] Whitby, Dissert. de Scriptur. Interpret. Præf. p. 8, 9, 10. 19. Socinus boasted that he acknowledged no master ; "Sed Deum tantummodo præceptorem habui, sacrasque literas." — Ep. ad Squarcialupum, Opp. t. i. p. 362. Accordingly, he strenuously denies the authority of the fathers and councils, the primitive church, &c. t. ii. p. 617, 618.

[l] See Waterland's just remarks, Works, vol. v. p. 282. Oxford ed. Lindsay, the Socinian, in his publication entitled the Catechist, asserts, that

in asserting this liberty to all men, it follows inevitably that no particular interpretation of scripture is necessary to salvation; that scripture has no divine meaning; that it is *not a revelation.* In short, tradition is thrown aside, under pretence of veneration for the scripture, in order that men may be enabled to distort, to misinterpret, and to destroy that very scripture.

The same may be observed of that pretended zeal for the defence of the Reformation, which infidels, Unitarians, and other enemies of the doctrine and discipline of the church, allege, as a plea for rejecting all appeal to the doctrines of the universal church.[m] "The doctrines of the *Reformation*," they say,

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"every religious opinion and practice is to be brought to the test of *God's word*," *i. e.* to the exclusion of councils, synods, bishops, presbyters, &c. Together with this, he teaches that the true doctrine began to be corrupted very soon by heathen inventions, even from the times of the apostles; and that "Luther and Calvin left the dregs" of the Roman antichrist "behind." Evanson, another Socinian praised by Belsham, declares that the gospels "contain gross and irreconcileable contradictions." Priestley regards the Mosaic narration of the creation and fall of man as a lame account. Belsham holds that the gospel teaches only the Deism of the French Theophilanthropists, except in the single *fact* of the resurrection of a human being; and engages that Unitarians shall show that whatever supports anything else is either "interpolation, omission, false reading, mistranslation, or erroneous interpretation."—See Magee on Atonement, vol. i. p. 174, 175. ii. 437. Yet who are more loud than these Deists in decrying catholic tradition? The same may be observed of the Rationalist infidels. They all regard scripture as interpolated, treat the gospels as spurious productions, &c.—Rose, p. 100, &c. Some of them hold that the scriptures contain pious *frauds* and *deceptions.*—Ib. 117. Some impute to our Lord and his apostles *deceptions for evil purposes.*—Ib. 119. Others affirm that the apostles, as low and ignorant men, natives of a barbarous country, had not the power of relating every thing as it really happened:—Ib. 120, and that the only method of getting at truth, is to subject what they had written to a critical examination, to separate the "*wheat in scripture from the chaff.*"—Ib. 121. This is Dr. Hampden's method with St. Paul.—Scholastic Philosophy, p. 375. All these writers reject the doctrine of the fathers.

[m] Tindal the infidel, declares that what he says is in defence of the *Protestant* religion, (p. 212.) that they who do not allow reason to judge in

"cannot be defended if this appeal is allowed: *popery* must triumph." Excellent men! They will maintain the Reformation at all hazards: all evidence shall be pronounced worthless, if it be opposed to the interests of that sacred cause. But what is the *end* sought by all this pretended devotion? It is that every man may be permitted without any check, to interpret scripture in such a manner as to *subvert* all the doctrines of the Reformation whether positive or negative, to prove the Reformation itself needless, erroneous, bigoted, equally absurd as the system to which it was opposed, and more inconsistent. I charge these men with the grossest hypocrisy. Never was there a more daring attempt to palm an imposture on the credulous and unthinking, than this effort of Deists and heretics to set aside tradition under pretence of zeal for the Reformation. They are the *opponents* of the Reformation. They are the representatives of those whom the Reformation condemned. They reject its doctrines, they charge it with ignorance, bigotry, intolerance, errors as gross as those of popery. They have separated from its reformed institutions, as *anti-christian*, and only exist by a perpetual attack upon them. The Reformation has no connexion with these men: its defence belongs exclusively to those who maintain its doctrines, and adhere to its institutions: and they alone are the proper judges of the mode of argument suited to its interests.

III. Statements directly untrue.

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matters of opinion or speculation, (*i. e.* as to the truth of any doctrines, &c. alleged) are guilty of as great absurdity as the papists; (p. 178.) that if we do not allow reason to judge scripture in opposition to all authority, we cannot show the absurdity of the plea of the papists to implicit faith, p. 211. He cites "Hoadly, the strenuous assertor of *our religious* as well as civil *rights*," as saying that "Authority is the greatest and most irreconcileable enemy to truth and argument"–that "against authority there is *no defence*," &c.–p. 215. The assumption of authority by Protestants according to Tindal is inconsistent with the defence of the *Reformation*. — p. 300. This hypocrisy cannot deceive any one possessed of common penetration.

Under this head may be included the palmary argument employed by all sects against any appeal to the tradition of the church universal, namely, that it was the principle of the Reformation to reject any such appeal; that its principle was, "the Bible alone is the religion of protestants."[n] Nothing can be more untrue than this assertion: the Reformation as a whole acknowledged and appealed to the authority of catholic tradition, though it denied the infallibility of particular fathers and councils.[o] With equal veracity it is asserted that the church of Eng-

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[n] Heretics seem never weary of attributing to the Reformation principles which it abominated. Wegscheider, Clarke, and others, have pretended that it is essential to a "Protestant" church to possess the power of *varying her belief;* and this, notwithstanding that the whole Reformation received the Athanasian Creed, which declares that the catholic faith there taught is necessary to salvation, and that unless it shall be kept whole and undefiled by every man he shall perish everlastingly.

[o] See Part I. Chapter XII. Sect. 3. See also Mr. Rose's State of Protestantism, p. 35, &c., 2d ed. He observes that "it is this very circumstance (*i. e.* reverence for the fathers,) which has been made a subject of reproach against the early reformers by the modern school of theology," —p. 37, and that this rationalist or infidel school assert that "*down to the eighteenth century*," "appeals were made only to the *writings of the fathers*, whose ignorance, prejudices, and want of philosophical illumination, deprived their evidence and opinions of all value." — p. 39. If Luther and others occasionally opposed themselves to the opinions of particular fathers, and used strong expressions on the subject; we must in reason suppose that they viewed those fathers then only in their capacity of theologians or writers, and not as witnesses of catholic tradition. It is certain that we are not bound to adopt the sentiments of any father merely on his own authority. Luther, however, was far from rejecting them even as theologians. He recommended the works of Augustine, Bernard, Ambrose, and Peter Lombard to students, though he disapproved of those of Origen, Jerome, and Basil.—Walchii Bibliotheca Patrist. cap. xv. s. 12. Even the Roman bishop Trevern admits, that Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Leibnitz, and other distinguished adherents of the Reformation, respected catholic tradition. — Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 196—206. The Wallenburghs cite sixteen Lutheran and reformed theologians, to prove that the reformation allowed the authority of the early church. — Oper. t. i. p. 237. The Roman theologians themselves treat the fathers with too little ceremony where their sentiments

land rejects tradition by her sixth article of religion,[p] when it is manifest that her object is simply to maintain the necessity of scriptural proof for articles of faith; while our canons, our ritual, and the whole body of our theologians have so notoriously upheld the authority of tradition, that it is a subject of unmeasured complaint on the part of those who disbelieve the doctrines of the church.[q]

The nature of these various arguments testifies sufficiently that the doctrine of the universal church is opposed to those who employ them. It could be nothing but a feeling of despair on this point, which could have induced men to resort to perpetual misrepresentation, to false pretences, and to untruths. The employment of these weapons by all sects, in order to prevent any appeal to universal tradition, proves two points. First, as the sole fundamental principle on which they all agree, is, the rejection of an appeal to the doctrine of the church as a check on

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are opposed to those of Rome. Medina accuses Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. of holding Arian sentiments. Maldonatus charges Chrysostom with Pelagianism. See many instances collected by Crakanthorp, Logicæ, lib. v. cap. xvi. Reg. xix. p. 340. See also Mr. Newman's valuable observations, Lectures on Romanism, p. 59—99.

[p] Whitby, Dissert. p. 4.

[q] I have already (Part II. Chap. VI.) cited the words of Walchius and of Blackburn. Middleton, the author of the Free Inquiry, who resolved the Mosaic account of the fall of man into a fable, and is supposed to have been an infidel, says, "Though this doctrine of the sufficiency of the scriptures be generally professed through all the Reformed churches, yet it has happened, I know not how, in our own, that its divines have been apt, on all occasions, to join the authority of the primitive church to that of sacred writ; to supply doctrines from the ancient councils, on which the scriptures are either silent or thought defective, to add the holy fathers to the college of the apostles; and by ascribing the same gift and powers to them both, to advance the primitive traditions to a parity with the apostolic precepts." — Free Inquiry, Introduct. p. xcviii. He then traces the prevalence of this evil principle in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, (when Cranmer and Ridley *unhappily* appealed to it,) Elizabeth, James, Charles, &c. Page xli. he complains of "the prejudice in favour of *primitive antiquity*, which prevails in this protestant country."

the interpretation of scripture, and the assertion of an unlimited right of private interpretation; this principle is the source of all their divisions and contradictions, and therefore must be radically false. Secondly, the doctrine of the universal church from the beginning must condemn that of all modern sects, in every point in which they differ from our catholic and apostolic churches; and therefore on every such point they are in error and misinterpret scripture, and the church is in the right.

But what if two opposite parties both appeal to primitive tradition as in their favour? Some of the Unitarians, &c. do so. I answer that they appeal to some insignificant sect of *heretics* which the universal church rejected, and which utterly perished many ages ago.[r] They accuse *the great body of Christians* from the beginning of the grossest errors, and do not appeal to their doctrine; or if they do occasionally cite some of the early fathers, they take care to assure us at the same time that they have no respect for their authority.[s] With regard to controver-

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[r] See Waterland on the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, Works, vol. v. p. 327. The Ebionites were rejected as heretics. — See Bull's "Primitiva and Apostolica Traditio." The ancient heretics Basilides, Valentinus, the Marcionites, pretended to a private tradition contrary to that of the catholic church. The Artemonians pretended that their doctrine had been formerly held by the church, though it had been long ago condemned and execrated by all Christians. The Arians, too, and Macedonians pretended to tradition in favour of their errors, but when they were asked whether they would admit the common doctrine of the ancients, and be concluded by it, they refused the trial—Socrat. Hist. Eccl. v. 10; Sozom. vii. 12; see Waterland ut supra, p. 323—325. As for the modern Arians and Socinians, Whiston, Clarke, Whitby, Hoadly, &c. they either rejected and despised the writings of the fathers, or else admitted them only partially, rejecting such writers as they pleased.—See Waterland ut supra, p. 327, 328.

[s] It is related of Biddle, the founder of the English Socinians, that "he gave the holy scriptures a diligent reading; and made use of *no other rule* to determine controversies about religion than the *scriptures*, and of no other authentic *interpreter*, if a scruple arose concerning the sense of scripture, than *reason*." Afterwards, indeed, it is said that he adduced some of the fathers of the first two centuries, not that he regarded them himself, but

sies between the churches of England and Rome, it may be observed, that while both parties appeal with equal confidence to catholic tradition, the former usually prefer to limit the appeal to the earlier centuries, while the latter are anxious to introduce the testimonies of later times. The natural inference is, that our doctrines have more support from the earlier tradition, and the Roman opinions from that of subsequent ages; that neither are without support from tradition; that the differences are not concerning matters of faith or things necessary to salvation; and therefore that we are perfectly secure in following the doctrines and practice of our own churches, and Romanists were not justified in separating from them.[t]

These are conclusions which may be drawn from facts, by those who are themselves unable to examine the monuments of catholic tradition. The more learned will of course know from actual investigation, that the faith of the universal church which we maintain, is supported by universal tradition.

"for the sake of the adversaries who continually crake, *the fathers, the fathers.*"—Life by Toulmin amongst the Unitarian Tracts.

[t] See Part II. Chapters II. and IX., where it is shown that the Romanists separated from our orthodox churches.

CHAPTER IV.

ON TRADITIONS OF RITES AND DISCIPLINE.

Tradition is sometimes used in the sense of "custom" or "practice," as in the thirty-fourth Article: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word." This leads me to consider the rules for determining what traditions of the church are lawful and changeable, and for discriminating them from those which are unchangeable and necessary.

SECTION I.

THE MODE IN WHICH ALL THINGS LAWFUL ARE CONTAINED IN SCRIPTURE.

The Puritans, and many of the more modern sectaries, have asserted that no rites or discipline can be *lawful* for Christians, except those which are expressed in scripture; and for this reason objected to several traditions which our churches have received from the remotest ages; as the use of sponsors, the sign of the cross, the ministerial vestments, the offices of archbishop, dean, chancellor, &c. These were according to them unlawful, because they were not mentioned in scripture.[a] Hooker has argued well against this principle in his second and third

[a] See the objections of the Puritans in Hooker, and those of the modern dissenters in Towgood on dissent.

books. The church has always admitted, that rites and discipline which can be proved *contrary* to scripture, directly or indirectly, are unlawful: the Article above-cited, and the twentieth, both recognize this principle. The latter says that the church "ought not to decree any thing against scripture." We also admit that some *general principles* are laid down in scripture, from which every thing that is lawful may be justified. The question then is, whether every thing that is simply *lawful* in worship and discipline must be expressly mentioned in scripture. This I deny, for the following reasons:

1. There is no assertion to that effect in scripture itself, as will be seen in the answers to objections.

2. Every thing is lawful which is not forbidden by the law; which is not contrary to the law: as the scripture says, "Where no law is, there is no transgression."[b] "Sin is the transgression of the law."[c] Therefore, whatever is not directly or indirectly contrary to the divine law of scripture is lawful.

3. The scripture lays down certain general rules for the guidance of the church in regulating externals: such as, "Let all things be done decently and in order."[d] "Let all things be done unto edifying."[e] "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."[f] "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church."[g] Therefore, the scripture recognizes a power of regulating externals which is guided by general scriptural rules, not by specific scriptural enactment or precedent.

4. Every church and every sect from the foundation of Christianity has practiced a number of rites and matters of discipline which are not in scripture. Bingham, in tracing the rites of the primitive church in the administration of the sacraments and public worship, exhibits a multitude of various rites, ceremonies and disciplines, in the churches of the East and West,

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[b] Rom. iv. 15. [c] 1 John iii. 4. [d] 1 Cor. xiv. 40.
[e] Ibid. ver. 26. [f] 1 Cor. x. 31. [g] Ibid. 32.

which cannot be traced in scripture.[h] Tertullian says, "Let us then inquire whether no tradition (in this case) should be admitted unless it is written. We will allow that it should not, if no examples of other practices prejudge the case, as being maintained on the title of tradition only, and the strength of custom, without any authority of scripture. To begin with baptism; when entering the water, and a little before in the church, under the bishop's hand, we protest that we renounce the devil, his pomps, and his angels. Then we are plunged three times, replying something more than our Saviour in the gospel has prescribed. Received thence, we taste a mixture of milk and honey; and from that day we abstain from the daily bath during the whole week. The sacrament of the eucharist ordained by our Saviour, both at the time of repast, and for all, we receive in our assemblies before daylight; nor from the hands of others than those who preside. We offer for the dead, and on an annual day for the martyrs' birthdays, &c.[i] "The day would fail me," says St. Basil, "if I were to relate to you all the rites

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[h] See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church.

[i] "Ergo quæramus an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi? Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine ullius scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo et exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus. Denique ut a baptismate ingrediar, aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistites manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes, quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus. Eucharistæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculus adorare. Eadem immunitate a Die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus."—Tertull. De Corona, c. ii. iii. iv.

transmitted to the church without scripture. I omit the rest: this profession of faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (the creed), from what scripture have we it?"[k]

I adduce these passages, merely to show that the primitive church practised many rites which are not contained in scripture. Such also it is plain, has been the invariable custom of all the Oriental, all the Roman, all the British churches, down to the present day. The Lutherans and the Calvinists also followed the same rule, as might be instanced in their use of liturgies, organs, surplices, and other ministerial vestments, lights, crosses, kneeling at the eucharist, cross in baptism, observation of holy days, fonts, creeds, use of the ring in marriage, churching of women, burial of the dead with hymns and prayers, titles and offices of antistes, præpositus, archbishop, dean, chancellor, provincial and national synods, moderators, &c.[l] These rites were practised by some or all branches of the foreign Reformation. Indeed, all their confessions of faith or doctrine expressly approve of the continuance of such human traditions or rites, as are not contrary to the word of God. The Confession of Augsburg says, "that those rites are to be observed, which may be observed without sin, and are conducive to quietness and good order in the church, as certain holydays, feasts, and the like." "Nor is it necessary that human traditions, or *rites and ceremonies introduced by men*, should be alike everywhere."[m] The Apology of the Confession says: "We willingly observe the ancient traditions which were constituted in the church for the sake of utility and quietness," &c.[n] The Tetrapolitan Confession, drawn up by Bucer in 1530, observes, "The opinion of our party concerning the traditions of the fathers, or those which the bishops and churches approve now, is this: they include no traditions among the human traditions which are condemned in

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[k] Basil. De Spiritu Sanct. c. xxvii. n. 67. t. iii. oper. p. 56.

[l] See Durel on the Reformed Churches.

[m] Confessio August. pars i. art. xv. and vii.

[n] Apologia Confessionis, viii. De tradit. humanis in Ecclesia.

scripture, except such as are *repugnant* to the law of God. . . Those which agree with scripture and were instituted to promote good manners and the public utility, even though they be not expressly written in scripture, yet since they arise from the precept of charity, are to be accounted *divine* rather than human."[o] The same views are taken by the Bohemian,[p] the Polish,[q] the Helvetic[r] Confessions, the Formula Concordiæ,[s] &c. Calvin expressly defends the obligation of human traditions,[t] and amongst the rest approves of the constitution of the primitive church, of synods, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, metropolitans, bishops, archdeacons, subdeacons, readers, acolytes, and in short, the whole hierarchy. This system he regarded as scarcely in any respect dissonant from the word of God.[u] In fine, the dissenters themselves adopt a number of rites and matters of discipline which are not mentioned in scripture. One of the chief foundations of their dissent is the right of the people to elect their own pastors, yet they admit that there is not an instance in the Bible of a particular church electing its own pastor.[v] They administer the eucharist to women; exact from candidates for baptism, for "church-membership," or for the ministry, confessions of their "experience" and their doctrine; constitute members of the church by a ceremony different from baptism; give the titles of "reverend" and "divine" to their ministers, who are also styled "doctors of divinity and law," "masters of arts," &c.; constitute congregational and baptist unions, conferences, &c.; build chapels and colleges, and establish trustees, committees, and professors. None of these things are mentioned in scripture, nor do we read there any such

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[o] Confess. Tetrapolitana, cap. xiv.
[p] Confess. Bohemica, art. xv.
[q] Declaratio Thoruniensis, art. v. vi.
[r] Confessio Helvetica, cap. xxvii.
[s] Pars i. art. x.
[t] Calvini Institut. lib. iv. c. iii. sect. 27—32.
[u] Ibid. cap. iv.
[v] James' Church Memb. Guide, p. 12. 2d ed.

expressions as "congregational" or "baptist" churches; and therefore we claim the whole mass of dissenting communities as effective, though reluctant, witnesses in favour of our position.

Hence I conclude that it is lawful, it is not anti-christian, to continue, or even institute rites and discipline not mentioned in scripture, provided they be not opposed to the truths or the principles of scripture. For, if it be otherwise, all Christians from the beginning must have mistaken their own religion, and acted as enemies of Christ, until at last in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, a handful of Puritan and Anabaptist schismatics discovered the truth: a supposition which is too absurd to merit a serious refutation.

SECTION II.

ON THE MEANS OF DISCRIMINATING VARIABLE FROM INVARIABLE RITES.

Having proved that traditions of rites and discipline not taught by scripture, may be lawfully adopted and continued in the church, it now remains to examine, by what rule we may discriminate those traditions or customs of the church in general which are unchangeable, from those that are changeable?

Rites are found in scripture, which every one admits to be changeable, *i. e.* the institution of deaconesses, the kiss of peace, feasts of charity, the use of long hair and of a covering for the head by women. In the same manner rites appear to have been universal in the earliest ages which were relinquished afterwards; such as trine immersion in baptism, the administration of confirmation at the same time, the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, &c.

Are then all rites and points of discipline contained in scripture and tradition non-essential and variable? I reply that they are not.

First, there can be no doubt of the perpetual obligation of those rites which Christ declared necessary to salvation, and which all Christians from the beginning believed to be so: I

mean baptism and the eucharist. And we are bound by a sense of the importance of those rites, to adhere to that form of administering them which is found in scripture, and which the universal church has always practised. All other forms and ceremonies concerning these sacraments are variable.

Secondly, any rites which may be traced in scripture as means of *grace*, and which the *whole* church appears evidently to have received from the apostles, cannot be considered as changeable by the church, for it is to be presumed that such rites were instituted by the Holy Ghost for the whole church. Why otherwise should the apostles have ordained them everywhere? Such are confirmation, ordination, episcopacy,[w] matrimony, reading of scripture in the church, absolution, administration of the eucharist in both kinds, the observance of the Lord's day, &c. These are customs and rites, which cannot without extreme rashness and danger be changed or omitted; and which, if neglected at any time ought to be restored again.

Thirdly, if any rite mentioned in scripture was not given as a means of *grace*, or appears plainly either not to have been delivered in *all churches* by the apostles, or to have been generally held non-essential and changeable in primitive times, then it must be regarded as designed only for temporary purposes, and only enacted by the authority of some apostles as chief ministers of the church, and not by all the apostles under the express direction of the Holy Ghost. For had it been designed for the whole church, it would have been universally eceived by the church. Hence, we may infer that the feasts of charity, the kiss of peace, the wearing of long hair, the order of deaconesses, as not being connected with grace; and the unction of the sick, as not universally received,[x] were changeable rites.

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[w] [As a mode of government, namely; and as regards jurisdiction; as the channel for the transmission of the divine commission it is surely not to be classed among "rites," nor degraded to the rank of a mere "custom." See Part VI. chap. i.]

[x] The first writer who clearly mentions this rite as customary is Innocen-

Fourthly, if any rite or discipline be not traceable in scripture, it cannot be essential or invariable ; for it is not credible that scripture, which contains some rites that are changeable, should omit all mention of what was unchangeable. Therefore, all rites which are supported by ancient tradition only, might be omitted by the church for special reasons. Such are, trine immersion in baptism, the administration of the eucharist to infants,[y] the mixture of water with wine in the eucharist, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the same, prayers for the saints who are at rest, the time of keeping Easter, the fast of Lent.[z]

Fifthly, still more may those rites and disciplines be omitted, whose early prevalence may be accounted for without apostolic institution, or which were only received by a portion of the church, or which were not of any great antiquity. Such were various rites suppressed by our catholic and apostolic churches at the Reformation, as being inconvenient and burdensome ; the rebaptizing of heretics or the opposite practice ; the Roman jurisdiction over other particular churches,[a] administering milk and honey after baptism, standing at prayers between Easter and Pentecost. In fine, those rites which are not mentioned in

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tius, bishop of Rome, who lived in the fifth century : the earlier testimonies are disputed by Romanists themselves. If it were supposed that the sick might receive some consolation by this rite, it is plain that what Romanists regard as its principal object, the remission of sin, is previously obtained by repentance, absolution, and the reception of the holy eucharist. Indeed, it is disputed among themselves whether the unction remits any but *venial* sins, (Bellarmin. De Extr. Unct. lib. i. c. vii.; Tournely, De Extr. Unctione, p. 68) or whether the faithful are bound by any divine or ecclesiastical precept to receive it, and whether St. James's words are not to be understood as advice, not as precept.—Tournely, p. 71.

[y] [The extremely slender support of the eucharist of infants by "ancient tradition" hardly justifies its place in this catalogue. See the Dissertation of Dr. Waterland. Works. Vol. IX.]

[z] Melchior Canus observes that the Lent fast, though apostolical, is changeable.—De loc. Theol. lib. iii. c. 5.

[a] Though the *precedence* of the Roman church above the rest was early

scripture, and which having, after some ages, been admitted into the church, are found by experience to be injurious to Christian piety, in consequence of the extreme abuses connected with them, ought to be removed by the church. Such were the celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, and the use and honouring of images. The practical evils of such rights afford an abundant reason to justify their removal: but it should be observed, that piety as well as prudence would prevent us from affirming, that even in such cases, the divine protection had been so far withdrawn from the catholic church, as to permit it to sanction any practice which was *in itself* idolatrous or anti-christian. The church universal might not always be aided to perceive what was most *expedient* for the promotion of piety; but this is very different from approving or instituting what was in itself gross and manifest sin.

OBJECTIONS.

I. "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin."[b] Now, faith can only be founded on the word of God; therefore, whatever is not done by the word of God is sin.

Answer. The word faith here means a *full persuasion* that what we do is *lawful*, as appears from the context. But this persuasion or faith is immediately attained, on observing that the law of God does not *forbid* that action: for "sin is the transgression of the law."[c] Therefore, there is no necessity that the "faith" here meant, should rest on the express institutions or precedents of scripture.

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and universally acknowledged, and does not appear to have been originally instituted by any council; still in this case the rule of St. Augustine, "Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur," does not apply; because the origin of this precedency may be reasonably accounted for without supposing any apostolical institution. See Part VIII.

[b] Rom. xiv. 23. See Hooker, vol. i. p. 368. ed. Keble, for the puritan use of this text.

[c] 1 John iii. 4.

II. "My son, if thou wilt receive my words, &c. . . . so that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom . . . then shalt thou understand righteousness, and judgment, and equity: yea, every good path."[d] Therefore, no action is good which is not contained in scripture.

Answer. I admit that the wisdom here spoken of, and which enables us to understand every good path, is contained in scripture: but with regard to certain good works, *i. e.* those of variable rites and discipline, it furnishes *general rules* only.

III. "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."[e] Now, no man can glorify God except by obedience, and obedience has respect to the word of God. Therefore, every action of man must be directed by the word of God.

Answer. I admit that every action of man ought to be directed by the word of God, but this direction, in the case of rites and discipline is, by general rules, not by specific enactments.

IV. Several passages from Augustine, Tertullian, Jerome, Hilary, &c. are cited,[f] in which the absolute necessity of scripture proof is insisted on: but these passages relate to articles of faith, with which we are not here concerned.

V. Tertullian, in arguing against the lawfulness of soldiers wearing garlands, asks, "where it is commanded in scripture;" in reply to his adversaries' question, "where it is forbidden in scripture."[g] Therefore, both parties appealed to scripture as conclusive in the question.

Answer. Tertullian *concludes* that though scripture is silent on the point, *tradition* establishes his position. His adversaries' appeal to scripture did not imply that every lawful custom must be expressed there, but that every unlawful custom must be proved unlawful by its opposition to the word of God, which is exactly our principle.

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[d] Prov. ii. 1, &c. Hooker, p. 363.

[e] 1 Cor. x. 31. Hooker, p. 365.

[f] See Hooker's Works, vol. i. p. 378, &c. ed. Keble.

[g] Tertullian, De Corona Militis, see Hooker, p. 387, &c.

VI. It is injurious to the dignity and perfection of scripture as the word of God, to suppose that it omits any thing which may be convenient or profitable to the church.

Answer. The dignity and utility of the scripture would have been less, if all rites and disciplines which might be useful to the church had been expressly mentioned. For, the universality of the church in respect of time and place, would render the expediency of things exceedingly variable. Consequently, scripture would have contained many things obsolete or useless, and instead of comprising scarcely any thing but the unchangeable word of God, would have been made up in a great degree, of details concerning changeable and non-essential rites. The New Testament in this case would have apparently resembled the Mosaic law; and the liberty of the church from the law of ceremonial observances, which is so admirably reconciled with the order and peace of Christianity, by leaving her free to make and vary her rites and disciplines, could scarcely have been preserved perfect, without permitting a licentiousness of private judgment and action that would have filled the church with confusion.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE OFFICE OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO FAITH.

The instruction of the existing church is, in its own age, an ordinary and divinely-appointed external means for the production of faith. This is the position which I am about to maintain, avoiding on one side the error of those who would found faith solely on the examination of each individual, and on the other, that which would represent the infallibility of the existing church as the only ground of our faith.

In speaking of the church, I refer not only to the ministers of Jesus Christ, but to all the brethren. That the former were commissioned to instruct the people of God, we know from scripture; "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."[a] "He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man,"[b] &c. "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also."[c] "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow."[d] "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account."[e] Many similar proofs might be adduced: and the apostle Paul expressly connects faith with Christian instruc-

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[a] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [b] Eph. iv. 11, 12. [c] 2 Tim. ii. 2.
[d] Heb. xiii. 7. [e] Ibid. 17.

tion; "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent? . . . . So, then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."[f] Thus the instructions of the ministers of God are designed to produce faith.

Besides this, Christian parents are to teach their children the gospel, to "bring them up in the nurture and and admonition of the Lord:"[g] all Christians are to love their neighbours as themselves; and on this principle, "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth,"[h] they are to "comfort themselves together and *edify one another*."[i] In fine, the gospel is equally the privilege of all the faithful; and all in common, according to their degree, are exhorted to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints."[k]

The church, then, is a society, in which, by the divine institution, a great and complicated system of instruction is always to continue. The admonitions of preachers, the words of parents and friends, the conversation and acts of all the brethren, all combine to impress the Christian's mind (even before his reason is yet able to exert itself,) with the truths of revelation.

This has always been the doctrine of the church. Irenæus says: "It is necessary to hear the presbyters of the church who have succession from the apostles, as we have shown; who with the succession of the episcopate have received the certain gift of truth according to the Father's will."[l] Tertullian: "To know what the apostles taught, that is what Christ revealed to them, recourse must be had to the churches which they founded, and which they instructed by word of mouth,

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[f] Rom. x. 15—17. [g] Eph. vi. 4. [h] 1 Cor. x. 24. [i] 1 Thess. v. 11. [k] Jude. 3.

[l] Irenæus, Adv. Hæreses, lib. iv. c. 26. "Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt."

and their epistles,"[m] &c. Origen: "If the law of God be received according to the meaning which the church teaches, then truly it transcends all human laws, and will be believed to be truly the law of God."[n] Cyprian: "Christ says to his apostles, and through them to all ministers who by a regular ordination succeed to them, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me."[o] Augustine: "The authority of the scriptures themselves commends the church; therefore, since the holy scripture cannot deceive, let him who fears to be misled by the obscurity of the present question (concerning baptism) consult concerning it the same church, which without any ambiguity the holy scripture demonstrates."[p]

By preaching the apostles converted heathen nations before the scriptures were written, and Irenæus testifies that in his time, some nations believed the gospel without being able to read the scriptures.[q] So it has been even to the present day,

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[m] "Quid autem prædicaverint, id est quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non aliter probari debere, nisi per easdem ecclesias quas ipsi apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva, quod aiunt, voce, quam per epistolas postea."—Tertull. De præscript. c. xxi.

[n] "Si vero secundum hanc intelligentiam, quam docet ecclesia, accipiatur, Dei lex, tunc plane omnes humanas supereminet leges, et vere Dei lex esse credetur."—Origen, Hom. vii. in Levit. t. ii. p. 226. ed. Benedict.

[o] "Qui dicit ad apostolos ac per hos ad omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt: Qui audit vos, me audit; et qui me audit, audit eum qui me misit. Et qui rejicit vos, me rejicit, et eum qui me misit."—Cyprianus, Epist. ad Florent. Pupian. lxix. ed. Pamel.

[p] "In hac re a nobis tenetur veritas cum hoc facimas quod universæ jam placuit ecclesiæ, quam ipsarum scripturarum commendat auctoritas; ut quoniam sancta scriptura fallere non potest, quisquis falli metuit hujus obscuritate quæstionis eamdem ecclesiam de illa consulat, quam sine ulla ambiguitate sancta scriptura demonstrat."—August. contr. Cresconium, lib. i. c. 33. t. ix. p. 407.

[q] Irenæus, Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. iv. "Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes, in unum Deum credentes," &c.

for the majority of Christians have at all times been unable to institute an exact examination into scripture, or the doctrine of the church universal. Their faith is, and must necessarily be founded to a great extent on the testimony of their pastors, of the learned, and of their brethren generally. For they have ordinarily no other external evidence of the history of Christianity, of the authenticity, inspiration, and uncorrupted preservation of scripture, of the accuracy of translations, of the universality and antiquity of the church, of the nature of its belief in all ages. It is true that those who have more information are able to search the scripture, and the tradition of the universal church: but perhaps no man can have leisure to trace out all the evidence on each doctrine of religion: so that in fine, the faith of every Christian rests more or less on the testimony or instruction of the church. This instruction is the first external means of faith in the mind of a Christian: it accompanies and influences his opinions imperceptibly: and he is never finally disengaged from it but by scepticism. Nor, may this be affirmed only of the church: the very same thing occurs in every sect which exists as a society.

Such is the mode in which God has willed that faith should generally take its rise. He founds it universally on sufficiently credible testimony, and in proportion as the intellect is expanded and cultivated, it is enabled to perceive a wider range of evidence: but the certainty of faith does not vary with the amount of the understanding: the evidence which an unlettered man has of Christian truth is sufficient to produce the firmest faith.

We are here met by two opposite parties, who unite in asserting that faith supported only by the testimony of fallible men cannot be firm or divine faith; and that such faith must either be founded solely on the *infallible* authority of the existing church, or else solely on the *infallible* authority of scripture.[r]

[r] This argument was common to Roman controversialists and their opponents in the 16th and 17th centuries.

I reply first, that divine faith is determined by the object on which it rests, that is to say, the authority of God himself. Human faith rests on the veracity of men. If therefore Christian truth is believed *because God hath spoken it*, that belief is divine, by whatsoever *means* it may have been produced. The patriarchs and apostles had this faith by means of immediate inspiration, the early Christians by means of the apostles' instructions, others by means of the church's testimony, some, perhaps, in remote regions, only by means of their parents' instruction, some by means of the scriptures only; but in all these cases, divine faith exists whenever the doctrines of revelation are believed *finally on the authority of God.*

Secondly, the testimony of the church, though given by fallible men, is a means sufficient to produce the firmest conviction that certain doctrines were revealed by God.

Those professing Christians who rashly and inconsiderately deny this position, and who set aside human testimony as uncertain, in order to establish some system of their own, do not suppose that this mode of reasoning tends to the subversion of Christianity itself: but it does so very plainly. If all human testimony be uncertain, then all the external evidence for the genuineness, authenticity, and uncorrupted preservation of scripture is uncertain: if all human testimony be uncertain, then all the evidence of the *perpetual existence*, *universality*, belief, and judgments of *the church*, is uncertain. Thus there is no external evidence of religion left, except the assumed infallibility of the existing church, which itself can only be known to exist universally, or to give any particular evidence on any point, by *human testimony;* and therefore on this principle there is no foundation for religion at all. But the principle does not stop here, it would render all the facts of history doubtful, would lead us to doubt whether Cæsar or Alexander the Great ever lived, whether any country which we have not visited ourselves exists, whether there be a sovereign if we

have not ourselves seen him, or magistrates if we have not witnessed their appointment.[s]

Such a principle then is opposed to common sense. It is evident that human testimony in all these instances is capable of producing so high a degree of certainty, and is really so credible, that he who disputed it would be justly regarded as insane. Hence, I contend that human testimony is a sufficient means of conducting us to divine faith, by assuring us infallibly of the fact that God has revealed certain truths.

It must be observed, that while the instruction of the existing church as far as it is exercised on individuals, is an ordinary means of producing faith; that faith does not rest entirely or finally on the authority of the existing church.[t] This authority assures us most credibly that God revealed certain truths, that the scriptures which we have, may be relied on as his word,[t] hat the Christians have always believed as we do. Nor are we prevented, but encouraged, according to our opportunities, to confirm our faith and enlarge our knowledge, by consulting the word of God and the records of the church. The learned will at last rest their faith on the word of God, that is, on the true meaning of scripture, established by the consent of all ages and the irrefragable judgments of the universal church.[u]

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[s] See the very able argument of M. Fraysinnous, bishop of Hermopolis, in his "Défense du Christianisme, ou Conférences sur la Religion." (Sur le Témoignage, tom. i.)

[t] "By experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the scriptures" (that they are the oracles of God) "is the authority of God's church. For when we know the whole church of God hath that opinion of the scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the church, to be of a contrary mind without cause."—Hooker's Works, vol. i. p. 475, ed. Keble. "The authority of God's church prepareth us unto the faith and serveth as an introduction, to bring us to the discerning and perfect apprehension of divine things, but is not the ground of our faith, and reason of believing."—Field, Of the Church, book iv. c. 8.

[u] Michael Medina (one of the theologians at Trent) attempts to prove

It is therefore in vain objected, that if the testimony of the existing church be the ordinary means of faith, Luther and the reformers were unjustifiable in disputing any point of doctrine, which they had been taught by the existing Roman church: for we deny that faith is founded on the testimony of the existing church as *supernatural or infallible;* and if in any point the more common opinion be found on attentive examination inconsistent with scripture and the opinion of former ages, it may be rejected; because the testimony of the existing church derives its value only from its faithfully representing the doctrine of scripture and of antiquity. I do not affirm, however, nor is it to be believed, that the whole existing church would unanimously teach what was contrary to the articles of the faith certainly revealed by Christ; and the Reformation professed that it did not differ in any such points from the catholic, or even the Roman church, but only concerning matters of opinion and practice. It would also be in vain to object to our doctrine, that we cannot make an act of divine faith before we first open the scriptures to the following effect: "As I believe that God is, so I believe that this scripture is his word;" and that such an act can only be made by those who receive the scripture on the authority of the church as infallible:[v] for it has been already shown that the testimony of the church when unanimous, as it is in this case, is capable of producing the most perfect conviction, though it be supposed nothing more than human testimony.

We are not guilty of arguing in a circle, when we prove the church from scripture. We believe that a falsehood cannot

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that the *ultimate* resolution of faith is into the authority of the church.—De recta in Deum Fide, lib. v. c. 11. Melchior Canus denies this, and teaches that our faith rests finally on the authority of God.—De locis Theol. lib. ii. c. 8. Stapleton also says: "Ecclesiæ vox non est ultima fidei resolutio, ita ut in ea tanquam in authoritatem supremam desinat in eaque sistat mens fidelis."—Lib. viii. Princ. cap. 20.

[v] Bossuet, Conférence avec M. Claude, Œuvres, t. xxiii. p. 300.

have obtained universal currency among the learned and the good, among contradictory sects and parties. We think it rational to believe the testimony of all men to that which most men can have no interest in supporting it if it be not true. We believe on that testimony, that the Bible is genuine, authentic, uncorrupted, that it has always been received by Christians as we find it, that it is fairly translated. And from the plain language of that record we deduce the spiritual authority of the church. Our adversaries, in their eagerness to establish that authority assume it to be the only proof of scripture, and then prove it from scripture, thus finally resting the proof of the church's authority on the church's authority: a mode of argument which is perfectly absurd, and which Roman theologians are obliged *instantly* to relinquish, when they attempt to defend Christianity against infidels. They are then compelled to adopt *our course*, to commence with the testimony of the church as morally certain, but not as infallible by the assistance of God; and having established revelation on this most firm and rational basis, to employ it in proof the church's divine privileges.[w]

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[w] Cardinal de la Luzerne, in replying to the charge of arguing in a circle, observes: "It is false that we prove the authenticity of the books and the true meaning of the texts we employ, only by the infallible authority of the judge of controversies. With regard to authenticity, we only employ, to prove infallibility, passages taken from books which the protestants receive as we do. We suppose their authenticity as a matter agreed on both sides. *If we had to prove this authenticity*, we should indeed argue from the testimony of the church, *not of the church as an infallible judge*, but as a *constant and perpetual witness* since the publication of those books; and as having always regarded them as her law. It is thus that we are sure that the Alcoran was truly the work of Mahomet. It is thus we know the authenticity of all books whatsoever."—Dissert. sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. ii. p. 263, 264. This is precisely *our* mode of argument. In the same manner Delahogue says: "When we have to do with adversaries who deny both scripture and the church, we argue differently. First, *we prove the authenticity of the scriptures in the same way as it is customary to prove the authenticity of other works:* then we prove

The controversy between Bossuet and M. Claude, Calvinist minister at Charenton,[x] in which the former had evidently the advantage, turned very much on two points; first, whether belief founded on human testimony must necessarily be human and uncertain: secondly, whether it is essential to true faith to be founded on personal *examination*. Claude incautiously admitted the former: whence Bossuet inferred, not unreasonably, that the Protestants have nothing but an uncertain faith in scripture, which is the very foundation of their whole religion. Claude also maintained the latter in the affirmative, which enabled Bossuet to argue that protestants must begin by examining, and therefore doubting the authority of the scripture; that they must still examine after the universal church has decided; and in fine, that a private person, a woman, or any ignorant person, may and ought to believe that he may happen to understand God's word better than a whole council, though assembled from the four quarters of the world, and than all the rest of the church. It is curious however to observe, that Bossuet evaded for a long time any reply to Claude's objection, that Romanists themselves are obliged to rest their faith in the church on *human testimony*. At last he appeals to the fact of the church's "perpetual and uninterrupted existence," as alone sufficient to give her an "inviolable authority; forgetting that this very fact is only proved by *human testimony*.

It is time that these disputes as to the credibility of human testimony should cease between professing Christians. Those who deny its credibility must deny every fact of history. Those

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that their authors were inspired, who committed to writing what they were commanded by God to teach everywhere."—(Tract. de Eccl. p. 107.) After this, the church, he says, is proved from scripture, and here certainly is no vicious circle: but how absurd is it then to turn upon us, and call on us to admit doctrines solely on the infallible authority of the church, *because* we have no other proof of the authenticity of scripture except that infallible authority!

[x] Ut supra.

who act on it in all the concerns of life, cannot, without inconsistency, reject the overpowering mass of evidence which attests equally the truth of Christianity, of the scriptures, and of all the articles of our faith. The opponents of human testimony should only be found amongst the followers of the infidels Tindal and Hume.

In controversies with professing Christians we have a right to assume the truth of revelation, the authenticity, genuineness, and inspiration of scripture: if these be denied, we no longer argue with Christians. Romanists, who in controversies concerning Christian faith, call on us to *prove* the authenticity, genuineness, and inspiration of the scriptures, should be met by a *positive refusal;* because this is not a point in controversy between us, and because their own authors adopt precisely our arguments in proving scripture against the infidels. Romanists themselves prove scripture *exactly as we do:* and it is contrary to the rules of grave and honest controversy, to question or deny what both parties have already unanimously proved and agreed on. Let Romanists admit that the whole line of argument employed by Bossuet, Huet, Bergier, Hooke, Fraysinnous, La Mennais, &c. in proof of scripture is invalid, and we may then meet them, but not as members of the Roman Obedience, not as believers.

The mode of argument adopted by too many Romanists after Petavius, the Walenburghs, and others, is, to throw doubt and uncertainty on every proof of the catholic faith, except those which are founded on the infallible judgments of the church. Thus they dispute all the usual proofs of the authenticity, inspiration, and uncorrupted preservation of scripture, in order to establish the necessity of believing the church. With the same intention Petavius denied that the fathers before the synod of Nice taught the doctrine of the Trinity;[y] and if Romish

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[y] It is stated on the authority of Bossuet that Petavius retracted this opinion.—Waterland's Works, vol. v. p. 257. Oxford edit.

theologians of this school *followed out* their own principle, they would dispute the genuineness and uncorrupted preservation of all the monuments of catholic tradition; would suggest that the decrees of the œcumenical synods may have been corrupted, and thus, in fine, rest the faith of Christians on an authority whose judgment there is no means of ascertaining. As I have already said, the scriptures, the monuments of tradition, and therefore the catholic faith and the catholic church stand or fall together. If the scripture be uncertain, tradition, the fathers, the councils are equally so: if tradition be uncertain, so is scripture.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE ALLEGED NECESSITY OF EXAMINATION AS A FOUNDATION OF FAITH.

It has been maintained by some persons among the opponents of the Roman church, that faith in order to be real and saving, must be founded solely on individual examination of scripture. Hence, they would send every individual to the scripture to form his own religion from it, without in any degree prejudicing his mind by *human* creeds and systems, as they call them.

We do not doubt that it is desirable for all Christians to read the scriptures, for the confirmation of their faith and the increase of their knowledge: but I deny that it is essential to faith, that it be founded on personal examination of scripture; it is sufficient if by *any* testimony, the mind be convinced that the doctrines of revelation were in fact revealed, and believe them on the authority of God.

I have already proved that the testimony of the church is an ordinary means by which faith is produced: therefore personal examination of scripture cannot be the only essential means.[a] If it were, the majority of mankind must at all times have been beyond the possibility of believing. The children of Christians could have no faith until they were of age to read and examine the scriptures; they could not even believe the divine authority of the scriptures, before they had examined them. The christian ministry instituted by God himself, would be not only useless but injurious; because their instructions could not fail to inter-

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[a] See some most just observations on this subject in Dr. Hook's Sermons before the University of Oxford, Sermon III. on the Authority of the Church.

fere with the perfect freedom of each individual's examination. Creeds and articles of faith, and even the association of men in any Christian society, must be also regarded as prejudicial; because the current notions of a society cannot fail to exercise an influence on the opinions of its members. It were easy to point out other evils and absurdities which would follow from this principle; but they will readily suggest themselves. I now turn to the proofs on which this error is sustained.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Christ recommended to the Jews to found their faith on the scriptures only. "Search the scriptures, for they testify of me."[b]

Answer. Our Lord admonished the unbelieving Jews to search the scriptures, that is, to examine the prophecies which spake so plainly of him. But *besides these*, he had just referred to other proofs of his mission; the testimony of John, his own miracles, and the Father's voice.[c] Would not the Jews have had true faith, if *without searching the scriptures* they had already believed in Jesus for "his works' sake?" Certainly they would: and therefore our Lord did not mean that "searching the scriptures" was the only means of obtaining faith.

II. "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily whether those things were so. Therefore many of them believed."[d]

Answer. (1.) We read that three thousand souls believed on the apostle's *words*,[e] therefore it was not essential to examine the prophecies before they believed. (2.) The Jews of Berea might well be called "more noble than those of Thessalonica," for the latter had driven away Paul and Silas from their city.[f] They are praised, not because they founded their faith solely

[b] John v. 39.
[c] Ibid. 33—37.
[d] Acts xvii. 11.
[e] Ibid. ii. 41.
[f] Ibid. xvii. 5—10.

on an examination of the prophecies; but because they were willing to receive the word, and to employ every means for attaining the truth.

III. "From a child thou hast known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus."[g] Therefore the scriptures alone are a sufficient foundation of faith.

Answer. I admit that the scriptures are a *sufficient* foundation of faith, and that he who has truly faith in Christ Jesus, will be made wise unto salvation by the scriptures; but I deny that personal examination of scripture is the *sole* and *essential* foundation of faith, so that he who does not derive his faith from such *examination*, is devoid of faith.

IV. It is the principle of the Reformation that faith is only to be founded on scripture. The Church of England sends her members to the Bible, to examine whether her religion is true or false.

Answer. (1.) The Reformation maintained that all articles of faith should be proved from scripture; but it did not affirm that each individual must himself examine scripture, before he believed any doctrine. On the contrary, every branch of the Reformation taught children to believe the articles of the Christian faith, before they could possibly examine them. (2.) The Church of England sends her members to the scripture, not because she doubts her own faith, or considers them at liberty to doubt it; but in order to confirm and enlarge that faith which she has taught them. If they misinterpret scripture and fall into obstinate heresy, she excommunicates them,[h] and declares that they shall "without doubt perish everlastingly."[i]

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[g] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

[h] Canons 1603 and 1640.

[i] Athanasian Creed.

A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART IV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND DISCIPLINE.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART IV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

In the preceding part I have treated the general doctrine of Christians in all ages as a testimony which cannot reasonably be rejected, and have briefly touched on the office of the existing church in preserving faith by her instructions: but it now remains to consider the authority of the church properly so called, namely, the right of the church to judge in matters of faith and discipline, and the obligation which those judgments have on individuals.

I shall, in the first place, trace the right of the church universal to judge in matters of Christian faith and morality, and the mode and authority of those judgments; and then descend to the various instances in which such judgments have been made or alleged; secondly, I shall examine the authority and nature of judgments made by particular churches; and, thirdly, observe the authority of the church in questions of discipline, and resolve various questions connected with the preceding subjects.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH IS A JUDGE IN RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES.

In maintaining the right of the church to judge in controversies, it is necessary to limit her authority to its proper object. It is not, then, supposed by any one, that the church is authorized to determine questions relating to philosophy, science, legislation, or any other subjects beyond the doctrines of Revelation: her office relates entirely to the truth once revealed by Jesus Christ.[a]

The position which I am about to maintain is, that the whole catholic church of Christ, consisting of pastors and people, and every portion of it, are divinely authorized to judge in questions of religious controversy; that is, to determine whether a disputed doctrine is, or is not, a part of revelation; and to separate from their religious communion those individuals who oppose themselves to the common judgment.

I. It is admitted by all the opponents of church authority who believe in revelation, that individual Christians are autho-

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[a] This is admitted by Roman theologians. "Requiritur ut res sit *definibilis* de fide, videlicet ut sit mediate vel immediate revelata. Unde si, præter institutionem suam, Concilium Generale pronuntiaret circa questiones physicas, mathematicas, ad studia legum pertinentes, a prudentia, non vero a scientia divina pendentes, illius decreta ad fidem minime pertinerent, quia non haberent pro objecto aliquid revelatum. Ita Melchior Canus, Bellarminus, Veron, in sua regula fidei, Bossuet, in Defens. declar. part. i. l. 3. c. i. Tournely, Delahogue, p. 216, &c. Hinc etiam si concederetur concilium Lateranense, i. et iv. erravisse approbando expeditiones vulgo dictas *les Croisades*, nihil inde sequeretur."—Bouvier, Episc. Cenomanensis, Tract. de Vera Eccl. p. 235. See also Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 210, after Veron; Melchior Canus, Loc. Theol. lib. ii. c. 7. proposit. 3 juxta fin.

rized by God to judge what are the doctrines of the Gospel; therefore, as a necessary consequence, many, or *all* Christians, *i. e.* the church collectively, must have the same right. Whatever texts or arguments establish the right of individuals to judge, establish directly that of the church. If the church be denied the right of judging in religious controversies, it would be absurd to suppose that individuals have it; and, therefore, it would follow that revelation was given in vain, since no one was authorized to judge what it consisted of: thus heresy and infidelity would not merely be free from censure, but, in fact, could not exist. I conclude, therefore, that the right of individuals to judge, directly establishes that of the church.

II. The scripture says, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house; neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds."[b] "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine, which is according to godliness . . . from such withdraw thyself."[c] "We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us."[d] "If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."[e] These and many other texts establish the right, or rather obligation, of Christians to preserve their religion, by holding no communion with open sinners, false prophets, antichrists, heretics, and those who teach what is contrary to the Gospel; a right which is most fully admitted by all opponents of the church, and on which alone they can pretend to justify their own dissent or heresy. If, then, all Christians have the right to separate from their communion those who teach doctrines contrary to the Gospel, the

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[b] 2 John, ver. 2.
[c] 1 Tim. vi. 3.
[d] 2 Thess. iii. 6.
[e] Matt. xviii. 17.

right of the church (which is the same thing) is directly established.

III. The same power is specially and peculiarly given to the ministers of religion. They are authorized to teach the truth, and therefore to discriminate it from error, and to oppose themselves to false teachers, and separate them from their communion. This appears from the following texts: "Go ye and teach all nations .... teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[f] "Of your ownselves shall men arise, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them; therefore watch,"[g] &c. "I besought thee still to abide at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine."[h] "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."[i] "That he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."[k] "A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition, reject."[l] &c.

IV. "The church of the living God" is "the pillar and ground of the truth;"[m] but if she were not authorized to judge what the truth is, and to separate herself from false teachers, she could neither teach nor support the truth, and therefore could not be its "pillar and ground."

V. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints;"[n] but if the church might not define what her own faith is, and separate herself from the communion of a few turbulent false teachers and heretics, "whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses,"[o] there would be interminable discord and confusion within the church.

VI. The church is a society instituted by God for the purpose of preserving and propagating his revelation, by which is the way of salvation. Therefore it must be furnished with

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[f] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [g] Acts xx. 30. [h] 1 Tim. i. 3.
[i] 2 Tim. i. 9. [k] Tit. i. 9. [l] 1 Tit. iii. 10.
[m] 1 Tim. iii. 15. [n] 1 Cor. xiv. 23. [o] Tit. i. 11.

what is essential to the very object for which it was instituted; and consequently must, as a society, be authorized to judge what the truths of revelation are. I shall not multiply similar arguments from the unity of the church and the promises of Christ, but conclude from these, that the church of Christ is divinely authorized to judge whether controverted doctrines are those of the Gospel, or contrary to the Gospel, and to provide for the security of religion, by separating from her communion those who obstinately contradict the revealed truth.

This conclusion is confirmed by the universal practice of professing Christians in every age. We know from Irenæus and others, that the Christians avoided all intercourse with heretics.[p] Heretics themselves, in forsaking the communion of the church, acknowledged the same right of judgment. As soon as heresies arose within the church itself, so soon did the church exercise this right. The pastors of the church, either separately or conjointly, published their judgments in condemnation of heresies, or confirmation of the truth; and these being approved and acted on by the faithful and their pastors, in every part of the world; the judgment of the universal church was made known. The decisions of many hundreds of synods, not only of the church, but even of heretics, such as Arians, Donatists, &c., established sufficiently the universal conviction, that the church was authorized to judge in controversies of faith. This principle, indeed, has even been adopted by all denominations of professing Christians in modern times. The Presbyterians decide controversies of faith in their synods. The Westminster Confession declared that "It belongeth to synods and councils ministerially to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience."[q] Owen, and other Independents, claim for particular churches the right of judging in mat-

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[p] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3. cited above, Vol. I. 106.

[q] Westminster Confession, chap. xxxi. art. 3.

ters of faith, and of expelling heretics; and for the churches collectively, the right of judging particular churches, and separating them from communion if heretical.[r] It is the same with every other sect.

The Lutherans acknowledged the right of the church to judge in controversies: they appealed to the judgment of a general council for forty or fifty years:[s] they, themselves, in councils condemned the Calvinists, Zuinglians, Papists, and innumerable heretics.[t] The Calvinists of France arranged their church government in successive gradations of synods, of which the highest decided controversies in faith. Those of Holland, in the synod of Dort, condemned the Arminians: the reformed confessions approved of the ancient judgments of the church.[u] In fine, it is needless to speak of the sentiments and practice of the Oriental, Roman, and British churches, as to the right of the church to judge in controversies of faith. Our churches expressly affirm that "the church has authority in controversies of faith."[v] They exercised this authority in framing articles of doctrine, approving of the ancient creeds, condemning the heresy of Socinus,[w] excommunicating those who affirm the Articles to be superstitious and erroneous:[x] in fine, their constant law and practice has been to separate from their communion all who are convicted of heresy, according to the prescribed forms. This universal practice of the church, and of all religious communities, renders it superfluous to adduce the accordant sentiments of theologians in different ages. It also renders any attempt to adduce the opposite opinions of individuals perfectly futile.

The right of the church to judge in controversies, and to act

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[r] Owen's Gospel Church, chapters x. and xi.

[s] See Part I. c. xi. s. 1.

[t] Ibid. s. 3.

[u] Ibid. s. 3.

[v] Article XX.

[w] In the synod, A.D. 1640.

[x] Canon v.

on her judgments, by separating those who oppose them, is all I here contend for. What the *authority* of those judgments is, strictly speaking, *i. e.* what degree of respect individuals are bound to pay to them, is a very different question, which I shall consider presently.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE MODES OF ECCLESIASTICAL JUDGMENTS.

It would be unreasonable to maintain that the judgment of the church in a controversy cannot be made known, unless each individual declares his sentiments by some formal and public act. In every assembly, that resolution which is proposed in the name of all, and which is opposed by none, or only a few, is accounted to be the judgment of the remainder. If a law be made by the rulers of a commonwealth, which, being published to all, is notoriously approved by many within that commonwealth, and opposed by none, it is evident that all unite in giving it assent. If in any society a sentence of exclusion is passed against certain individuals, by one or more of the members in the name of all, the rest being present and showing no sign of disapprobation, but, on the contrary, receiving and acting on the sentence, that sentence is evidently authorized by all. In the same manner, the judgment of the church may be abundantly made known by the formal public acts of a few of its members; approved, accepted, and acted on by the remainder. The practice of the apostles themselves confirms this. When "all the multitude had given audience to Barnabas and Saul," and when several of the apostles and elders had delivered their judgments, a letter was written to the brethren of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, in the name of the apostles, elders, and *brethren*,[a] concerning the matter in controversy; thus declaring the approbation of the multitude of the faithful at Jerusalem, though there is no evidence that they individually expressed their judgments, nor perhaps were in any way consenting, ex-

[a] Acts xv. 23.

cept by silence. In the same manner the judgment of the Council of Nice, in the case of Arius, was fairly esteemed the judgment of the whole church of Christ, because it was made known to, approved, and acted on by all Christians.

But, it may be asked, are there any members of the church peculiarly empowered to issue formal judgments or decrees in controversies of religion, or is every individual equally authorized to do so? I reply that

The right of making public and formal decrees, in controversies of religion, is vested in the ministers of Jesus Christ.

I argue this from the nature of the office of the ministers of Christ, who are leaders of the church in matters of religion, "*ensamples* to the flock."[b] . . . The office of every pastor is to be "an *example* of the believers . . . in faith."[c] The duty of the faithful is to attend to their admonitions: "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith *follow*."[d] "*Obey* them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls."[e] They alone are the watchmen of God's people, who, when they see the sword coming, are to blow the trumpet, and give warning to the people.[f] They alone are the shepherd's of God's flock beneath the Chief Shepherd;[g] and, as such, are bound to "take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers,"[h] and to guard this flock from "wolves."[i] To them, and not to all the faithful, is given the power to teach publicly in the church: "Are all teachers?"[k] They are peculiarly commanded to censure and rebuke gainsayers of the truth: "Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith;"[l] "A man that is a heretic after a first and second admonition, reject."[m] Therefore the ministers of Jesus Christ are authoriz-

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[b] 1 Pet. v. 3. [c] 1 Tim. iv. 12. [d] Heb. xiii. 7—9.
[e] Heb. xiii. 17. [f] Ezek. xxxiii. [g] 1 Pet. v. 4.
[h] Acts xx. 28—31. [i] Acts xx. 29. [k] 1 Cor. xii. 29.
[l] Tit. i. 13. [m] Tit. iii. 10.

ed, above all the rest of the brethren, to act in controversies of religion; and their judgment ought, according to the divine appointment, to be published before that of the brethren is known. They, alone, judge as the authorized *teachers* of religion; and the office of the brethren is evidently to accept or reject their judgment, according to its conformity with the Gospel, but not themselves to assume the position of teachers, and to define, formally and publicly, the matters in controversy.

When the apostles and elders at Jerusalem were consulted in the controversy concerning legal observances, the brethren of Antioch did not think it necessary themselves to go thither, and join in the decree. Barnabas and Paul were deputed by all the church. In the controversy about the time of Easter, in the second century, synods of bishops judged the question in many parts of the world. Paul of Samosata was condemned by seventy bishops of the Oriental diocese. The innumerable synods of the East and West generally comprised only bishops, and the deputies of absent bishops. Each church was represented by its pastor, and the other believers never esteemed it necessary or expedient to attend these assemblies and unite in their decrees, though, some were occasionally allowed to be present, and to subscribe. Even the Independent, Owen, holds that in synods, which consist of the delegates and messengers of several churches, "the elders or officers of them, or some of them at least, ought to be the principal; for there is a peculiar care of public edification incumbent on them, which they are to exercise on all just occasions:" and though he contends that others (even of the laity) may be united with them, he does not absolutely affirm it to be necessary: "Yet it is not necessary that they (the ministers) alone should be so sent or delegated by the churches."[n]

The public judgments of Christ's ministers in controversies of religion are sometimes made in œcumenical synods, consist-

[n] Owen's Gospel Church, p. 432.

ing of bishops from many provinces and nations ; sometimes in national synods, consisting of bishops from the provinces of one nation ; sometimes in provincial, or even in diocesan synods. Sometimes they are made by the patriarchs or chief bishops of the catholic church singly, sometimes by particular bishops.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CONDITIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL JUDGMENTS.

The judgments of bishops or councils in religious controversies, are of little weight in the church, unless they be given lawfully. If their decisions are not *free*, but constrained by external force and violence, they are in themselves of no weight, because they do not exhibit the genuine judgment of those who made them. If they manifestly act under the influence of prejudice and passion, or in blind obedience to some leader, their decrees are also devoid of authority in themselves. The church has often rejected the decisions of such synods. Thus the synod held at Ephesus, under Dioscorus, against Flavianus, patriarch of Constantinople, and that of Ariminum, where the Arian party deceived the orthodox, were both justly rejected by the church, in consequence of the force and violence employed to influence their proceedings. The judgments of the synod of Trent, also, have been justly disregarded by several churches, as it was chiefly composed of mere creatures of the Roman patriarch.

But, even if there has been some irregularity in the mode of judgment, the church ultimately judges whether that judgment is in itself correct; and if the whole church, in fact, approves and acts on it, it becomes the judgment of the universal church: nor can any irregularity in the original proceedings be pleaded in proof that it is not a lawful judgment of the universal church.

Certain conditions, however, must be found in all real judgments of the church.

I. They must be decreed and published by a sufficient au-

thority, and be known universally. The judgment of a single bishop might be unknown to the greater part of the church; it might be considered of not sufficient weight to call for a counter decision, and circumstances might render it inexpedient to make one. But if a judgment be made by a great assembly of bishops, from various parts of the world, condemning certain doctrines as heretical, and establishing the contrary truth, this decree must necessarily be known throughout the whole church.

II. They must be universally received and acted on. If the church knows of such decrees, and yet does not receive or act on them, they are evidently not generally approved. If the church universal acts on those decrees, she evidently approves of them. If they are only received and acted on in a part of the church, they represent only the judgment of that portion of the church: *e. g.* the Latin synods were only received in the Latin churches.

III. There must be no *proof* that they are received everywhere by a mere act of submission to authority, by a blind impulse, without any examination or judgment whatever, or by force. If there be such proof, it reduces such decrees to be judgments of those individual bishops only from whom they emanated. A mere presumption, however, that the church generally has not exercised any judgment on certain decrees, would be insufficient to reduce the authority of those decrees to that of their framers, if the church has *acted on* them: because it is not to be supposed, without evident proof, that any great Christian community would fail to exercise a conscientious vigilance over the faith.

In speaking of a universal or unanimous reception and approbation of judgments in faith, I do not mean a physical and absolute, but a *moral* universality. In this sense our Saviour said, "If he will not hear *the church*, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican;" where he speaks of "the church" as united in judging an offender, though that offender is himself a member of the church, and opposed of course to

the judgment. Scripture, in teaching us that heresies were to exist, shows that a judgment, absolutely unanimous, could not be expected at any time: but if the judgment be that of so great a majority of the church, that there are only a very small number of opponents, then its unanimity cannot fairly be contested. Where parties approach to any thing like an equality in numbers, learning, &c. there is an evident want of unanimity; and, under such circumstances, the judgment of the church universal is not given.

This may be illustrated by examples from the history of the church. The Arians and Macedonians, the Nestorians and Eutychians, the Luciferians and Donatists, had respectively several bishops in their favour; but the infinite majority of the church approved and acted on the judgments by which they were condemned as heretics or schismatics, and thus manifested the moral unanimity of the judgment of Christians.

On the other hand, when the church was considerably divided on questions, no one would maintain that the question had been determined by general consent. Thus, in the question of rebaptizing heretics, the opposite decrees of the African synod, and of the Roman see, were respectively supported by numerous adherents. So in the case of the second synod at Nice (by some called the seventh œcumenical), those who received, and those who rejected its decrees, were nearly balanced in number and weight; and, therefore, there was no judgment of the church.

What I have observed of the unanimity requisite to prove judgments to have been made by the universal church, applies also to the case of national, provincial, and particular churches. Their judgment is not given in controversies of faith, unless it be morally unanimous.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF JUDGMENTS OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

Assuming that in a controversy of faith, the formal and decided judgment of the universal church has been pronounced, it now remains to inquire, what authority this judgment is invested with; that is, whether individual Christians, then and in all future time, are, or are not, bound to submit to it. In order to narrow the question, let us suppose that a judgment in a controversy of faith has been made by a great council of bishops, assembled from all parts of the world; that this, their judgment, has been transmitted to all churches, publicly approved by many, received, accepted, and *acted on* by all: that no opposing voice has been heard; or, if a few individuals have objected, that their very fewness has evinced the sentiment of the vast majority, who also separate them from their communion as heretics: let us suppose that this judgment is not constrained by force and violence, nor given under the influence of any authority which destroys its freedom: the question now is, whether individuals are, after this, justified in opposing the doctrine so defined, on the ground of their own opinion of the sense of scripture, or for any other reason; and whether they are justified in subjecting themselves to the sentence of separation from the communion, and from the ordinances of the universal church.

I. I contend that *such a judgment is absolutely binding on all individual Christians from the moment of its full manifestation*, for the following reasons:

1. It has been already proved that the universal church is divinely authorized to judge in religious controversies, and to expel from her communion those who teach what is opposed to her faith. But Christ cannot have authorized two contra-

dictory judgments or actions; therefore, when the universal church has manifested her judgment, individuals cannot be authorized to oppose their judgment to her's.

2. It is certain, from the word of God, that the church of Christ was never to fail, or become apostate: but it would be apostate, if it taught, positively, what was false in faith, or contrary to the Gospel of Christ; for the apostle says: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be anathema."[a] It would also be sinful and detestable in the sight of God, to teach merely *human theories and opinions* as equally obligatory on the conscience of Christians with the doctrines of divine revelation; for God himself has said: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." The very object for which the church was founded, was to maintain, pure and inviolate, the *revealed truth:* and it is, therefore, called in scripture "the pillar and ground of truth:"[b] but if the church universal could positively condemn and extirpate *the revealed truth*, or pollute it by the admixture of merely human traditions, how could she be, in any sense, its "pillar and ground?" To suppose that the universal church could determine what is contrary to the Gospel revealed by Jesus Christ, would be inconsistent with the promises of Christ himself: "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;"[c] "The Spirit of truth shall abide with you for ever;"[d] For how could Christ be with a church which publicly and unanimously contradicted his word? That a large portion of the church might, for a time, receive errors, from *want of inquiry*, or merely by *implicit obedience* to an authority supposed to be infallible, may be readily conceded; but that the whole church, with the apparent use of all means, should unite in a regular and orderly condemnation of the truth revealed, and an approbation of what is contrary to the truth, or impose the belief of a spurious and merely human doctrine as necessary

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[a] Gal. i. 8. [b] 1 Tim. iii. 5. [c] Matt. xxviii. 20. [d] John xiv. 16, 17.

to salvation, would be inconsistent with the promises of Him whose word cannot fail. Hence, I infer that such a judgment as I have supposed, cannot be false or contrary to the Gospel; and, therefore, individuals cannot be justified in opposing their private opinions to it, and incurring the sentence of excommunication from the society and ordinances of Christianity.

3. It is incredible that any individual should be able to judge, more wisely and correctly, as to the nature of Christ's revelation, than the body of Christ's ministers throughout the world, together with the great body of believers. How can it be supposed that he possesses superior means of ascertaining the truth? Are the scriptures in his hands only? Is the tradition of past ages known to him only? "Came the word of God out from him, or came it unto him only?"[e] It is manifest that the whole Christian church, which equally possesses these means of coming to a right judgment, is infinitely more likely to judge right, than any individual. If he allege in confirmation of his right of judgment, those gracious promises of the aid of the Holy Spirit to guide and teach believers; surely he cannot deny, that when the multitude of the believers unite in a judgment contrary to his, the testimony of the Spirit is evidently given against him. If he pretends that the gift of the Spirit renders him individually infallible, let him prove that infallibility by miracles. We may hence conclude, that it is altogether unreasonable for any individuals to dispute the universal judgment.

4. If each individual may lawfully oppose himself to the judgment of the whole Christian world, and esteem himself, whether by nature or grace, wiser than all believers united, the most fatal results to Christianity must follow. He whom the whole church cannot teach, will contemn the instructions of the particular pastor whom God has placed over him, will despise the doctrine of his own particular church, and, if the brethren

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[e] 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

do not submit to his views, will separate from their communion. Hence, order, humility, peace, and unity, must depart from the church of Christ, and in their place must come arrogance, turbulence, division, heresies; and, at length, when the human mind is wearied with its own absurdities, universal toleration of falsehood, as equally acceptable to God with truth; and, finally, the rejection of Christianity, as obsolete and useless.

5. The divisions of modern sects calling themselves Protestant, afford a strong argument for the necessity of submission to the judgment of the universal church; for, surely, it is impossible that Christ could have designed his disciples to break into a hundred different sects, contending with each other on every doctrine of religion. It is impossible, I say, that this system of endless division can be Christian. It cannot but be the result of some deep-rooted, some universal error, some radically false principle which is common to all these sects. And what principle *do* they hold in common, except the right of each individual to oppose his judgment to that of all the church? This principle, then, must be utterly false and unfounded.

To this it may be objected, that God has authorized individuals to judge in questions of controversy; and, therefore, the judgment of all the church cannot be binding on them. I reply, that God has indeed authorized individuals to judge, according to their means of judging; but their judgment is *limited* by the divine will, for every one admits that it is not free to reject any doctrine of *revelation*. Now, all I contend for here is, that their right of judgment is so far limited, that it is not entitled to reject what is manifested to be a doctrine of revelation, by so great an evidence as the legitimate judgment of the universal church. They are not entitled to oppose their own opinion, devoid of all authority, to the judgment of the multitude of believers; and, in so doing, to incur the sentence of separation from Christian communion; a sentence authorized by God himself, as I have shown.[f]

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[f] See Chapter I.

The right of individual judgment is positive and unquestionable, *as far as it extends*. I allow, that individuals exercise a sacred right, or rather *duty*, in examining and judging of doctrines under controversy, according to their capacities and stations. But this process of examination *precedes* the time when the judgment of the universal church is manifested: till that period different opinions may be held: but afterwards reason and piety require the sacrifice of a private opinion to the judgment finally ratified by the universal consent.

II. I maintain, further, that *such a judgment is irrevocable, irreformable, never to be altered.*

First: all individuals are bound to submit to such a judgment, as I have shown; consequently, no one can lawfully bring the doctrine once decided, into controversy again; and there can be no new decision on it.

Secondly: the church in one age has no greater promises from Christ than in another; if, therefore any new decision be binding on individuals, the decision formerly made must have been equally so: if a new decision should not be allowed to be *obligatory*, it would be superfluous to alter that which was formerly made.

Thirdly: the universal church could not reverse her judgment, without admitting that, although to all appearance she had employed all lawful modes of attaining to the truth, she had failed; she would, therefore, be obliged to admit, that not even under the most favourable circumstances, could the promised aid of the Holy Ghost be securely relied on: in this case it would, at least, be just as probable that her former decision was right, as any other which she could now make. But the supposition that the church could not, under any circumstances, rely securely on the actual promises of Christ to her, would be contrary to faith; because it would entitle Christians to doubt always whether the church exists; whether it has not apostatized; whether it does not formally teach a gospel contrary to that of Christ, and excommunicate those who maintain

the revealed truth; whether the Spirit of truth has not forsaken it, and the gates of hell prevailed against it.

Finally: such a judgment as I have supposed, cannot be altered or revoked; because by virtue of Christ's promises, as I have shown, it must be true and in accordance with the Gospel.

The doctrine of Christians, from the earliest period, recognized the authority attached to the faith of the universal church: "Where the church is, there is the Spirit of God," says Irenæus: "and where the Spirit of God is, there also the church and every grace exist: but the Spirit is truth."[g] "It is necessary to hear the presbyters which are in the church, who have succession from the apostles, as we have shown; who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the Father's will."[h] Hence, according to Irenæus, the judgment of the whole body of the successors of the apostles, cannot be false. Clement of Alexandria says: "He ceases to be faithful to the Lord, who revolts against the received doctrines of the church, to embrace the opinions of heretics."[i] Tertullian: "Every doctrine is to be judged as false, which is opposed to the truth taught by the churches, the apostles, Christ, and God."[k] "Suppose that all churches had erred; that the apostle was deceived in giving his testimony; that the Holy Spirit who for this very thing was sent by Christ, sought from the Father, to be the teacher of truth, regarded no church so as to lead it into truth; that the Steward of God, the Vicar of Christ, neglected his office, permitting

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g "Ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia. Spiritus autem veritas."—Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 24.

h Irenæus adv. Hæres. iv. 26. See above, p. 78.

i ἀνθρωπος εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πιστὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ διαμένειν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὁ ἀναλακτίσας τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν.—Clemens Alexandr. oper. p. 890. ed. Potter.

k "Omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et Apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei."—Tertull. de Præscript. c. 21. p. 209. ed. Rigalt.

the churches to understand and to believe differently from what he himself had preached by the apostles; is it probable that so many and so great churches should have erred into *one faith?*"[1] &c. Alexander of Alexandria: "We believe so as it pleases the apostolical church . . . these things we teach, these we preach, these are the apostolical doctrines of the church, for which we are ready to lay down our lives."[m] Hilary of Poictiers: "The reason of our Lord's sitting in the ship, and the crowds standing without, arises from the accompanying circumstances. He was about to speak in parables, and by this sort of proceeding intimates that they who are out of the church, can possess no understanding of the divine word; for the ship is an emblem of the church, within which the word of life being placed and preached, those who are without, and who resemble barren and useless sands, cannot understand it."[n] Cyril of Jerusalem: "The church is called catholic, because it teaches catholicity, and without omission, all points that men should know."[o] Maximus: "I wish you, with all your power, to

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[1] "Age nunc, omnes erraverint; deceptus sit et Apostolus de testimonio reddendo: nullam respexerit Spiritus Sanctus, uti eam in veritatem deduceret, ad hoc missus a Christo, ad hoc postulatus de Patre, ut esset doctor veritatis; neglexerit officium, Dei villicus, Christi vicarius, sinens ecclesias aliter interim intelligere, aliter credere, quod ipse per apostolos prædicabat: ecquid verisimile est, ut tot ac tantæ in unam fidem erraverint?" —Tertull. Præscript. Hæret. c. 27, 28.

[m] Ἡμεῖς οὕτως πιστεύομεν, ὡς τῇ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δοκεῖ . . . ταῦτα διδάσκομεν, ταῦτα κηρύττομεν, ταῦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ ἀποστολικὰ δόγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀποθνήσκομεν.—Alexander Alexandr. apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. iv.

[n] "Sedisse Dominum in navi, et turbas foris stetisse, ex subjectis rebus est ratio. In parabolis enim erat locuturus: et facti istius genere significat eos, qui extra ecclesiam positi sunt, nullam divini sermonis capere posse intelligentiam. Navis enim ecclesiae typum præfert: intra quam verbum vitæ positum et prædicatum; hi qui extra sunt, et arenæ modo steriles atque inutiles adjacent, intelligere non possunt."—Hilar. Pictav. com. in S. Matt. c. xiii. p. 675. ed. Ben.

[o] Καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται . . . διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλειπῶς, ἅπαντα

turn away from all those who do not receive the pious and saving doctrines of the church."[p] Ambrose: "How can the traveller walk in the dark? His foot soon stumbles in the night, if the moon, like an eye of the world, does not point out his way. Thou also art in the night of the world: let the church point out the way to thee."[q] Pacianus: "the church hath neither spot nor wrinkle: that is, hath no heresies; neither the Valentinians, the Cataphrygians, nor the Novatians."[r] Vincentius: "The church of Christ, a diligent and careful guardian of the doctrines entrusted to her, never changes aught in them, diminishes nothing, adds nothing."[s] The practice of the church was accordant with these principles. Those who opposed the universal faith were always accounted heretics; and whenever the judgment of the whole church was ascertained, the controversy was held to be decided. That judgment was ever afterwards maintained by the church, and those who attempted to alter it were regarded as heretics.

If we trace the doctrine of Christians in more modern times, we shall still find the authority of the judgments of the universal church acknowledged. The whole reformation professed its adherence to the decisions of the ancient and genuine œcumenical synods.[t] The reformation maintained the perpetuity

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τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα.—Cyril. Hierosol. Cat. xviii. p. 270. ed. Milles.

[p] Πάντας πάσῃ δυνάμει ἀποστρεφομένους τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὰ εὐσεβῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σωτήρια δόγματα.—Maximus, Oper. i. ii. p. 284.

[q] "Et tu in nocte es sæculi; monstret tibi ecclesia viam."—Ambros. Enar. in Ps. xxxv. Oper. t. ii. p. 776. ed Ben.

[r] "Ecclesia est non habens maculam neque rugam, hoc est hæreses non habens, non Valentinos, non Cataphrygas, non Novatianos."—Pacian. Epist. iii. ad Sempron. Bibl. Patr. t. ii.

[s] "Christi vero ecclesia, sedula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, nihil in his unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit."—Vincent. Lirin. Commonitor. c. xxiii.

[t] See Part I. chap. xii. sect. 3. The Confession of Augsburg, received by all the Lutherans and Reformed, says: "Non enim aspernamur con-

of the church, and the necessity of the truth revealed by Jesus Christ;[u] therefore its principle led to the conclusion, that the church can never deny that truth. Calvin admits, that if the church contains herself within the compass of that heavenly doctrine, which is comprehended in the scripture, "she cannot err;"[v] and he observes, when urged with the text, "If he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man," &c., that the church ought to be heard, as "she never consents except to the truth of God, pronounces nothing except from the word of God."[w] But he insists that it is not lawful for the church to make a new doctrine, and to deliver for an oracle more than the Lord revealed by his word.

Chillingworth is well known as a strong opponent of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman church; but his deliberate judgment did not permit him to dispute the superior authority of the universal church. In his controversy with Lewgar, the latter asked: "When our church hath decided a controversy, I desire to know whether any particular church or person hath authority to re-examine her decision, whether she hath observed her rule or no, and free themselves from the obedience of it, by their particular judgment?" Chillingworth replied; "*If you understand by your church the church catholic,*

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sensum catholicæ ecclesiæ, nec est animus nobis ullum novum dogma et ignotum sanctæ ecclesiæ invehere in ecclesiam, nec patrocinari impiis aut seditiosis opinionibus volumus, quas *ecclesia catholica damnavit.*"—Confess. August. c. 21.

[u] See Part I. chap. i. sect. 2; chap. v. sect. 2; chap. xii. sect. 3.

[v] "Nos si demus illud primum, errare non posse ecclesiam in rebus ad salutem necessariis: hic sensus noster est, ideo hoc esse quod abdicata omni sua sapientia, a Spiritu sancto doceri se per verbum Dei patitur."—Calv. Instit. lib. iv. c. viii. s. 13.

[w] "Quid enim tandem obtinebunt (Romani) nisi non spernendum ecclesiæ consensum, quæ nunquam nisi in veritatem verbi Dei consentit? Ecclesia audienda est, inquiunt. Quis negat? quandoquidem nihil pronuntiat nisi ex verbo Domini. Si plus aliquid postulant, sciant nihil sibi in eo suffragari hæc Christi verba," &c.—Calv. Inst. iv. cap. viii. s. 15.

probably I should answer no; but if you understand by your church, that only which is subordinate to the see of Rome, or if you understand a council of this church, I answer yea."[x] Dr. Field, speaking in the name of our churches, says: "As we hold it impossible the church should ever, by apostasy and misbelief, wholly depart from God . . . so we hold it never falleth into any heresy."[y] Dr. Hammond, also, speaking the general sentiment, declares that "We do not believe that any general council, truly such, ever did, or ever shall err in any matter of *faith;* nor shall we further dispute the authority, when we shall be duly satisfied of the universality of any such."[z] Bishop Pearson observes, that the church of Christ is catholic, "because it teacheth all things which are necessary for a Christian to know, whether they be things in heaven, or things in earth, whether they concern the condition of man in this life, or in the life to come;" and afterwards professes belief in a universal church "to be propagated *to all ages*, to contain in it *all truths necessary to be known*."[a] Archbishop Bramhall: "We are most ready, in all our differences, to stand to the judgment of the truly catholic church, and its lawful representative, a free general council."[b] Dr. Saywell, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, says: "The divine wisdom has provided a more effectual means for removing of schism out of the church, by erecting an authority in her, to end all disputes and controversies: and, that she may the better demean herself in this office, he has promised her the perpetual guidance and direction of his Spirit, till she shall receive her perfect consummation in glory: and thereupon our Saviour himself has pronounced of every one that shall neglect to hear his church,

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x Conference between Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar, near the beginning.—Chillingworth's Works.

y Field, Of the Church, book iv. c. 2.

z Hammond, Of Heresies, p. 163.

a Pearson on the Creed, Art. ix.

b Bramhall, Works, p. 56.

'Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.'"[c] "St. Paul admonishes the bishops (Acts xx.), that of themselves should men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them: and this may happen even in large councils. But nothing like this can be said of the college of pastors, or of councils truly œcumenical, *received and approved by the catholic church:* nor may any one oppose scripture and the tradition of the church, to the tradition of an œcumenical council universally received and approved: for they teach the *same* thing, and equally declare the evangelical faith; nor do the pastors, either when dispersed abroad or collected in a really free council, bear a discordant testimony. The *same* truth is contained in scripture, in tradition, in œcumenical synods. It cannot be that an œcumenical council, or the free and true testimony of the college of pastors, should be contrary to the tradition of the church; nor can any doctrine be confirmed by the tradition of the church, which is repugnant to sacred scripture, since among all traditions none is more certain than that of scripture. Therefore let the scripture retain its perspicuity and sufficiency, tradition its firmness and constancy, the pastors and œcumenical synods their authority and reverence; nor let any one set them in opposition to each other, since the same faith, the same doctrine in all things necessary to salvation, is taught in its own method and order by each; and each has its own use and authority in handing down and preserving the truth."[d] Archbishop Tillotson says: "That the whole church, that is, all the Christians in the world, should at any time fall off to idolatry, and into errors and practices directly contrary to the Christian doctrine revealed in the holy scriptures, *is, on all hands, I think, denied:* only that any particular church may fall into such errors and practices, is, I think, as universally granted."[e] He also acknowledges that "when individuals

[c] Saywell on Schism, p. 82.

[d] Præfat. ad Epist. Launoii, Cantab. 1689.

[e] Tillotson, Sermon xlix.

prove perverse and diobedient, authority is judge, and may restrain and punish them. This is true; but then a question occurs, who is to decide whether they be perverse and disobedient? who is to judge whether they are heretics? I say, of course, authority."[f] Bishop Bull, in speaking of the synod of Nice, argues as follows: "In this synod the question was concerning a chief point of the Christian religion; namely, concerning the dignity of the person of Jesus Christ our Saviour; whether he was to be worshipped as true God, or to be reduced to the rank of creatures and things subject to the true God. If, in this question of the greatest moment, we pretend that all the rulers of the church fell into total error, and persuaded the Christian people of that error; how shall the faithfulness of our Lord Jesus Christ appear, who promised 'that he would be with the apostles,' and therefore with their successors, 'even to the end of the world?' For since the promise extends to the end of the world, and the apostles were not to live so long, Christ is to be supposed to have addressed, in the persons of the apostles, their successors in that office."[g]

It would be easy to cite many additional testimonies of our theologians to the great truth, that the universal church cannot at any time fall into heresy, or contradict the truth of the Gospel.[h] This, indeed, would be inconsistent with the "godly and wholesome doctrine" of the Homilies, which affirm that the Holy Ghost was always to remain with the church: "Neither must we think that this Comforter was either promised, or else given, only to the apostles, *but also to the universal church of Christ, dispersed through the whole world:* for unless the Holy Ghost had been *always present, governing and preserving the church from the beginning*, it could never have sustained so many and great brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage as it hath; and the words of Christ *are*

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[f] Sermon xxi.

[g] Bull, Defensio Fidei Nicæn. Proœm. s. 2.

[h] See the *very* valuable Preface of Dr. Saywell to the Epistles of Launoius, Cantabr. 1689.

most plain in this behalf, saying that "*the Spirit of truth should bide with them for ever*," that "*he would be with them always* (he meaneth by grace, virtue, and power,) *even to the world's end*."[i] And hence, our catholic apostolic churches, resting on these promises with undoubting confidence, declare that while particular churches have erred, "THE CHURCH—HAS AUTHORITY IN CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH :"[k] that is to say, particular churches may fail in faith: general councils consisting of numerous bishops may err in faith: but the UNIVERSAL CHURCH, guided for ever by the Spirit of Truth, sustained even to the end of the world by the presence of her Redeemer, can never fall into heresy, or deny the truth revealed by Jesus Christ. Were it possible that the universal church could fall into heresy: that with the use of all means, she might have contradicted the gospel of Christ: where would be her authority? What atom of authority would remain to the church in any of her judgments?

Whatever various modes of treating the authority of the church there may have been, I believe that scarcely any Christian writer can be found, who has ventured actually to maintain that the judgment of *the universal church, freely and deliberately given, with the apparent use of all means*, might in fact be heretical and contrary to the gospel. If the principles of some writers among the adherents of the reformation appear to *lead* to such a conclusion, we must make allowances for mistakes in the heat of controversy, when they were hard pressed by wily antagonists. Men who argue in haste, and under the pressure of most urgent dangers, cannot always select with rigid discrimination, the arguments by which they sincerely and honestly endeavour to defend the truth; and something always remains for future generations to do, in criticizing their particular arguments, and retaining those only which are free from all defects. If we observe the general

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[i] Sermon on Whitsunday, part ii.

[k] Article XX.

mode of reasoning practised by English theologians since the reformation, it will not be found directed against the authority of the *universal* church. Jewel denies the infallibility of the Roman church, and the Roman pontiff, as maintained by Hosius, Sylvester de Prierio, Pighius, and others. He contends that the Roman is not the catholic church, and denies that the council of Trent was truly general, from defects in the mode of its convocation, and in its numbers.[l] Chillingworth addresses himself chiefly to prove, that the Roman church is not infallible; that no church of one denomination is infallible.[m] Leslie contends, that the promises of Christ to his church are conditional, not absolute.[n] These and other writers argue, that the church cannot invent any new article of faith; that every thing which is held in the church is not matter of faith: that our faith is not founded solely and finally on the authority of the church now existing. All these propositions are true, and have been of great efficacy in controversy with Romanists; but they are not contradictory to the authority of the universal church properly understood; and several of them seem to infer, that under certain circumstances, *i. e.* when all lawful conditions are observed, individuals are not justified in opposing their own opinions to the decree of the universal church.

With reference to the doctrines actually supported by such judgments of the universal church as I have spoken of, it may be observed, that they are by no means numerous, extending little beyond the Nicene faith, the right doctrine of the trinity, incarnation, and grace. These doctrines are not many, but they constitute the very heart of the Christian religion: and as such, have been subject to the principal attacks of infidelity and heresy in every age.

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[l] Juelli Apologia.

[m] Chillingworth, Religion of Prot. chap. iii.

[n] Leslie, Case stated between the church of Rome, &c.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Several passages of scripture establish the right of private judgment in Christians. "Search the scriptures, for in them ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me."[o] Therefore it is the duty of every Christian to found his religious doctrines solely on his personal examination of scripture, independently of all other authority whatever.

Answer. (1.) Several eminent theologians maintain that the word ἐρευνᾶτε should be translated "ye search." Of this opinion are Beza, Lightfoot, Erasmus, and others cited by the Synopsis Criticorum: also Dr. Campbell the presbyterian,[p] who refers to the dissenter Doddridge, to Worsley, Heylin, Le Clerc, Beausobre, &c. It has also lately been maintained ably by Bishop Jebb.[q] But if this translation be good, the objection falls to the ground. (2.) These words are addressed to *unbelievers*, whom Christ directs to search the prophetical scriptures of the Old Testament, in order that the proofs afforded by his own miracles, the testimony of the Father, the testimony of John, might be completed by that from prophecy. But he does not mean that *believers* in his divine mission, should receive nothing without tracing it in the Old Testament; because this would have entitled them to doubt his own revelation in several points. Therefore, no argument can be drawn from this text in proof of the duty of believers to receive nothing except what they derive from scripture by examination.

II. Of the Bereans it is said: "These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so."[r]

Answer. They searched whether St. Paul rightly alleged the

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[o] John v. 39.

[p] Campbell on the Gospels, *in loc.*

[q] Jebb, Practical Theology, vol. i. p. 286, &c.

[r] Acts xvii. 11.

prophecies, in proof that "Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus whom I preach to you is Christ:"[s] but surely it does not follow that Christians who *already believe in Christ*, must imitate their example; still less that they are bound to believe nothing except what they individually deduce from scripture; and that, too, in opposition to the judgment of the universal church.

III. To the Thessalonians it is said: "Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."[t] Therefore, Christians are entitled to examine every doctrine without reference to the authority on which it is founded, and to hold that only which their reason approves.

Answer. (1.) This interpretation would authorize Christians to examine and dispute the doctrines revealed even by our Saviour and his apostles. (2.) The direction to "prove all things," &c. relates to the necessity of not receiving indiscriminately the doctrines and revelations of all who pretend to the gift of prophecy; for there were "many false prophets gone out into the world," as St. John testifies: and therefore this passage and that other, "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God;"[u] enjoin the duty of examining whether those who pretended to be prophets were truly such, and whether they taught what was conformable to the truth; but they do not authorize Christians to oppose their own private opinions to the formal judgment of the universal church.

IV. Christ saith: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."[v] Therefore, a sincere and honest inquirer cannot fail to be led into truth, and consequently may oppose his opinion to that of all other men.

Answer. I admit that a sincere desire to do God's will is the principal means of attaining to a sound and pure faith; but this sincere desire, must lead individuals not to hazard their salva-

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[s] Ibid. 2, 3.
[t] 1 Thess. v. 20, 21.
[u] 1 John iv. 1.
[v] John vii. 17.

tion, by reposing absolutely on their private judgment of scripture, when it is opposed to so great an authority as the deliberate judgment of the church universal.[w]

V. "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture . . . is profitable for doctrine, &c. that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."[x] Therefore, scripture being sufficient to guide us into truth, it is lawful to oppose the judgment of the whole church, if it appears to us inconsistent with scripture.

Answer. Scripture is able to guide *all* Christians into truth; and if all judge against us, the testimony of the Spirit is apparently against us. It is far more probable that some individuals should err or mistake the meaning of scripture, than that the whole church with equal or superior means of information should do so.

VI. Various passages prove that there is an internal operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the faithful, by which they are infallibly taught the truth. Therefore, they may oppose their own judgment to that of the whole church. Thus it is written: "All my children shall be taught of the Lord:"[y] "After those days I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts:"[z] "My sheep hear my voice:"[a] "When he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth:"[b] "If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him:"[c] "Ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth,"[d] &c. "He that believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself."[e]

Answer. I admit that all these passages prove the influence

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[w] [Add, that the promise is *general;* relative to the truth of revelation in general, not of its particulars.]

[x] 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. [y] Isaiah liv. 13. [z] Jer. xxxi. 33.
[a] John x. 27. [b] Ibid. xvi. 13. [c] James i. 5.
[d] 1 John ii. 27. [e] 1 John v. 10.

of the Holy Ghost in leading believers into truth: but the promises are all *general;* and if Christians universally, with all the external signs of belief, with the use of all means, such as prayer, the investigation of scripture, &c. agree in their judgment, and determine that a certain doctrine is false and contradictory to the gospel; is it not clear that they are worthy of belief:—that the Spirit has spoken by them:[f] and that the contradictory opinion which we embrace on our own interpretation of scripture, cannot be legitimately drawn from it?

VII. "Be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."[g] Therefore, Christ alone being the master of the faithful, they are bound not to submit their own individual judgment to any other authority whatever.

Answer. This direction is designed to prevent the assumption of any undue authority by pastors over their people, or of one Christian over another; as the apostle says, "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being an ensample to the flock;"[h] and again, "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy."[i] But this does not authorize individuals to oppose their own opinion, to that which is proved to be true by the united solemn testimony of the whole Christian world.

VIII. It is admitted that we must employ our reason to discover whether the church has actually judged in any particular case. Why then should we not *continue* to exercise that reason, in judging whether the decision itself is or is not conformable to scripture? Why should we make use of our eyes to find a guide, and then put them out to follow him?

Answer. Men were obliged to exercise their reason in order to believe in Christ; but when they had discovered his divine mission they were bound not to question or dispute his doctrines, or those of the apostles. In like manner, the inspiration of scripture being once ascertained by reason, we cannot dispute the doctrines revealed there, nor examine them by our own

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[f] Matt. x. 20. [g] Ibid. xxiii. 8. [h] 1 Pet. v. 3. [i] 2 Cor. i. 24.

reason. So also, if the church universal be authorized to judge, we are bound not to dispute her judgment, though we may have exercised our reason in discovering that she possesses this authority, and in ascertaining the particulars of her decrees.

IX. If the universal church cannot formally decide contrary to the faith, or teach falsehood, then the Reformation erred in maintaining that some false doctrines had been received in the church.

Answer. (1.) Particular churches, or portions of the universal church, may receive errors, without ceasing to be churches, provided they do so without obstinacy, or under the influence of an excuseable mistake. Therefore, some Western churches subject to the Roman see, may have for a time received errors, which better information enabled them to correct. (2.) The opinions and practices common in the Western churches, which were objected to, were not contrary to *faith*, according to the opinion of the reformation, evidenced by the Confession of Augsburg.[k] (3.) There is a great difference between common opinions and practices, which may be received for a time without examination, and by abuse; and formal judgments of the catholic church.[l] The errors of Romanism were never supported by any such judgments.[m]

X. The Articles maintain that the church and general councils have erred in faith.

Answer. The Articles only affirm that the particular church of Rome, like others, has erred in faith, as was evidenced in the case of Liberius, Honorius, &c.; and that councils *termed* general, such as the Latrocinium of Ephesus, have also erred in faith; but they do not affirm that the church universal has ever formally approved and acted on the decree of any council which opposed the faith of Christ.

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[k] Confessio August. pars i. art. 22; pars ii. prolog.

[l] See Chapter VI.

[m] See Chapters X. XI. XII. where the authority of the councils alleged by Romanists in proof of their opinions, is distinguished from that of the catholic church.

XI. Chillingworth says "that the Bible only is the religion of Protestants," and that there are "councils against councils," and "the church of one age against the church of another age."[n] Therefore, it is inconsistent with sound principle, to maintain any authority except that of the Bible only, as binding on Christians.

Answer. (1.) I maintain that the "Bible only," in a certain sense, has *always been the religion of the catholic church;* that is, the church has always believed that the whole Christian faith is contained in the Bible; but the church is authorized to judge whether any controverted doctrine is taught by the Bible. (2.) "The church of one age" has been "against the church of another" in *some* points, that is, in *matters of opinion*, but not in matters of faith. Chillingworth himself does not mean that what he calls "fundamental" doctrines, *i. e.* those contained in the creeds, have been denied by the universal church in any age. Nor can it be *proved*, that any article of faith, ever confessed by the universal church, has at any other time been relinquished or denied by the universal church.[o]

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[n] Chillingworth, Religion of Protestants, c. vi. sect. 56.

[o] See Bishop Van Mildert's impressive remarks in his eighth Bampton lecture, where he observes, that "if a candid investigation be made of the points generally agreed upon by the church universal, it will probably be found, that at no period of its history has any fundamental or essential truth of the Gospel been authoritatively disowned. Particular churches may have added superstitious observances, and many erroneous tenets, to these essential truths; and in every church, particular individuals, or congregations of individuals, may have tainted large portions of the Christian community with pestilential heresies. But as far as the church catholic can be deemed responsible, the substance of sound doctrine still remains undestroyed at least, if not unimpaired. Let us take, for instance, those articles of faith which we have already shown to be essential to the Christian covenant ... At what period of the church have these doctrines or either of them, been by any public act disowned, or called in question? . . . . . No age of the church has ever been entirely free from attempts to spread pernicious errors; yet at what period have they ever received its authoritative sanction?" &c.

XII. The whole church fell into the Arian heresy in the time of Athanasius, after the council of Nice had established the orthodox doctrine.

Answer. I deny that the universal church ever reversed the decree made at Nice; though many individuals were compelled by force, or misled by artifice, to fail in their steadfastness, and to give an apparent and temporary sanction to what was contrary to their real belief. But I shall consider this objection more fully in treating on the council of Ariminum.[p]

XIII. The church made contradictory decrees in the synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, concerning Eutyches; and in the synods of Constantinople and Nice, concerning the worship of images.

Answer. The contradictory synods were not *both* approved and acted on by the *universal* church.[q]

XIV. If God has authorized the catholic church to judge in matters of controversy, then the true church must always be in a condition to declare her judgment on whatever controversy may arise. Consequently, the true church must always be united in one communion, and the Roman obedience, being the greatest communion, must be the true church.

Answer. I deny that the universal church must always be in a condition to declare her judgment, and shall refute this notion in the succeeding chapter.

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[p] See Chapter X. section 2.

[q] See Chapter X.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE NOTION OF A PERPETUAL TRIBUNAL IN THE CHURCH.

It has been well observed by Bossuet, that "that alone should be held impossible in the church, which would leave the truth without defence."[a] On the same principle I argue, that the universal church need not always be in a condition to pronounce her united judgment in matters of controversy; because the truth may be sufficiently defended in many cases, without the aid of any such judgment.

I. Some controversies, as every one admits, need no decision, and may continue in the church. Some heresies are so manifestly opposed to scripture, and the doctrine of the catholic church, that they require no condemnation: as St. Augustine said, "What need was there of a synod to condemn a manifest error? as if no heresy had ever been condemned except by a synod. There are but few which need for their condemnation any such thing; and there are many, yea, incomparably more heresies which have been rejected and condemned where they arose; and which have been known elsewhere, only in order to be avoided."[b] Other sects, by their voluntary separation from the church, or their formation exterior to it, are but little dangerous to the faith of Christians. Even of those heresies which

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[a] "Id tantum in ecclesia habendum est pro impossibili, quo facto, nullum superesset veritati præsidium: at in casu, quem dicimus, tutum superesset in ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritate præsidium: non ergo ille casus est impossibilis."—Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. x. c. 36.

[b] Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianor. lib. iv. c. ult. oper. t. x. p. 492.

require to be condemned, very few need the united judgment of the catholic church. More than sixty heresies were suppressed before the synod of Nice, by the arguments and authority of the bishops and provincial synods. Bossuet himself admits that the judgment of the catholic church is not essential in every case of heresy;[c] besides this, new heresies may often be manifest revivals of old ones formerly condemned by the catholic church; therefore she need not always be in a condition to judge in controversy.

II. This indeed cannot be denied by Romanists: for during the great Western schism, the catholic church (according to their opinion) was divided into two or three different obediences, subject to as many rival popes.[d] Therefore, a general synod could not then have been convened at any moment; neither could any bishop of Rome have made a decision in controversy which would have been transmitted to, or acknowledged by all the church. Consequently, the church was not at that time in a condition to determine unitedly controversies in faith.

III. Besides this, it results necessarily from a belief in the superintending care of Christ over his church, that if at any time the church universal be divided in communion (as it actually is at present), no new heresies shall be permitted to arise, which would require the united judgment of the catholic church; but that any which do arise shall be capable of refutation and suppression, by the light of scripture and tradition, and the admonitions and judgments of the successors of the apostles, either separately, or in provincial or national synods. It may also be assumed, as a matter of certainty, that if God should determine that the judgment of the united

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[c] Bossuet, Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. ix. c. 1; Variations des Eglises Prot. liv. xv. sect. 128; Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 331, &c. 360.

[d] Roman theologians prove that none of these obediences were schismatical.—See Tournely, Prælect. Theol. de Eccl. t. i. p. 643; Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 34.

catholic church is at any time necessary to preserve the truth; he will remove those jealousies and misunderstandings, that ignorance, and that exaggerated influence of the Roman see, which have for a time impaired the harmony of the catholic church.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ECCLESIASTICAL JUDGMENTS AND TRADITIONS, AND MERE COMMON OPINIONS.

Of doctrines and practices in the church, some have been always universally received, and are matters of catholic tradition: others have likewise been defined and enjoined by the authoritative judgments of the universal church: but besides these, there are doctrines which prevail in certain times and places, without formal judgments, and which are afterwards relinquished, as forming no part of the revealed truth, but rather repugnant to it. It is now to be inquired whether such opinions may at any particular time prevail in a large portion of the church.

I. I contend that some opinion which is an error, but not a heresy and directly contrary to the truth revealed by Jesus Christ, may for a time prevail in a large portion of the catholic church.

1. No one pretends that individuals taken separately, are, by the divine promises, exempt from error, even in matters of faith:[a] nor is there any certainty that particular churches may not fall into error. It is admitted by Roman theologians, that a considerable part of the church may for a time be in error in a matter of faith or morality, through some mistake in a question of *fact*: *e. g.* they do not deny that the Western churches very

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[a] "Episcopos seorsum existentes non docet Spiritus Sanctus omnem veritatem." "Singuli seorsum errare possunt."—Bellarmin. De Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 2.

generally rejected the decree of the synod at Nice under the empress Irene, in favour of honouring images.[b]

2. The promises of Christ to his church did not extend to a total exemption from all error, but to the preservation of the *truth revealed by himself*, pure and inviolate. If, then, a large portion of the church should receive for a time some error not contrary to the faith, the promises of Christ would still be fulfilled.

3. It is admitted by our opponents, that the promise of infallibility was made by Christ to the great body of pastors teaching,[c] that is, authoritatively defining doctrine: but an error not contrary to faith, received by a number of pastors and of the faithful, merely on the authority of eminent theologians, as Aquinas, Scotus, &c. without any controversy, examination, or formal definition, is not to be viewed as any portion of that *teaching* to which Christ's promise extends.[d]

4. There is, humanly speaking, much less certainty of the truth of an *opinion* commonly received without discussion and inquiry (unless it be certain that it has *always* been received by the catholic church), than of a *judgment* made by the universal church, which always presupposes *the use of all the ordinary means* for attaining the truth. The necessity of this use of means is admitted by Roman theologians.[e]

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[b] Bossuet, Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. vii. c. 31; Delahogue, De Ecclesia Christi, p. 177.

[c] Delahogue, De Ecclesia Christi, p. 148; Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. t. ii. p. 269.

[d] [Epist. Cœlest. ed Conc. Ephes. Act. II. Conc. Ephes.]

[e] In reply to the question on what conditions Christ promised to be with councils, Hooke says; "Si in nomine suo congregata fuerint, hoc est servata suffragiorum libertate, invocato cœlesti auxilio, adhibita humana industria et diligentia in conquirenda veritate . . . . . Necesse igitur est episcopos in conciliis omnia adhibere humana et ordinaria media, industriæ, diligentiæ, studii, collationis, disputationis, ad veritatem detegendam . .; neque enim illis nova fit revelatio, sed quod in purissimis scripturæ ac traditionis fontibus detegunt, hoc fidelibus proponunt," &c.—Relig. Nat. et

5. In fact, some opinions which are generally admitted to be *erroneous*, have at various times prevailed commonly in a large part of the church. Gerson says, that the false opinions concerning the papal power fretted like a canker, and formerly prevailed so far, that he would have been esteemed a heretic, who had held the doctrine of the council of Constance.[f] Amongst errors, which were at one time universal in the Latin churches, were the opinion of the lawfulness of burning heretics,[g] and that of the pope's power in temporals. The genuineness of the decretals of the early Roman pontiffs was also universally held in the Western churches for some centuries: and the error of fact in this case was most materially connected with doctrine; for the papal supremacy, and infallibility in matters of faith, are chiefly founded on these spurious decretals by Canus[h] and many other theologians.[i] The Western synod of Constance even condemned the opinion that these decretals were spurious,[k] which is, however, now

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Revel. Princip. t. iii. p. 390. So also Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 384. Gregorius de Valentia observes, that the Roman pontiff, though infallible, is under the same obligations.—Analys. Fid. Cathol. lib. viii. c. 4. So also Bellarmine, lib. i. de Conciliis, c. 11. cited by Tournely, de Eccl. t. i. p. 356.

[f] "Fallor si non ante celebrationem hujus sacrosanctæ Constant. synodi, sic occupaverat mentes plurimorum, literarum magis quam literatorum ista traditio, ut oppositorum dogmatizator fuisset de hæretica pravitate vel notatus vel damnatus. Hujus rei signum accipe, quia post declarationem ex theologiæ principiis luce clariorem, et quod urgentius est, post determinationem et practicationem ejusdem sanctæ synodi, inveniuntur qui talia palam asserere non paveant; tam radicatum, et ut cancer serpens tam medullitus, imbibitum fuit hoc priscæ adulationis virus lætiferum."—Gerson, De Potest. Eccl. consid. 12. Oper. t. i. p. 135. ed. 1606.

[g] This is argued at length by Eckius, Enchirid. p. 156, &c.

[h] Melchior Canus, De locis Theol. lib. iv. cap. iv.

[i] See the very useful work of M. De Hontheim, bishop of Myriophyta, entitled "Febronius," where the influence of the spurious decretals in raising the papal jurisdiction, is considered fully.

[k] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 103. s. 28.

universally received. Bailly says: "It may happen that a false opinion is the more common among theologians. Thus in the last century, almost all casuists held that the less safe and less probable opinion might safely be adhered to."[l] And again: "It may happen that the common opinion is not true. Christ only promised that he would be with the greater number of bishops in those things which relate to faith, not in mere opinions which are different in different times."[m] According to Bossuet, "any person who does not embrace the whole series of tradition, but merely addicts himself to modern authors, will fall into most grievous errors."[n] So that it is evident, that theologians generally, in a large part of the church, may be in error: and in fact Bossuet remarks, that "the united opinion of all the theologians of modern times in a grave matter, makes only a probable opinion, which may not be despised without temerity."[o] Delahogue says, that "since the promises of Christ relative to infallibility do not concern bishops except when they teach; it may be that a theological opinion, far the most common, is not true. Therefore it would be wrong to apply to the proof of the truth of such opinions, that saying of St. Augustine, ecclesia quæ sunt contra fidem nec approbat nec tacet."[p]

6. Roman theologians admit that doctrines held even by what they consider an infallible authority, and equivalent to the

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l "Fieri potest ut opinio falsa communior sit inter theologos. Sic sæculo proxime elapso, omnes fere casuistæ sentiebant opinioni minus tutæ et minus probabili legitime posse adhæsionem fieri."—Bailly, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 268.

m "Christus tantum promisit se futurum esse cum majore episcoporum numero in iis quæ ad fidem spectant, non in meris opinionibus quæ variæ sunt pro variis temporibus."—Ibid. p. 269.

n "Id aperte incunctanterque profiteor, fore ut in gravissimos errores impingat, qui non omnia sæcula totamque traditionis seriam mente complexus, recentioribus se addixeret."—Bossuet, Defens. Declar. Cler. Gall. Appendix, lib. ii. c. 14.

o Bossuet, ibid.

p Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 148.

universal church,[q] are not always *de fide*, and therefore may be disputed. Bossuet says: "It is absolutely certain that many things are said and done in (general) councils by which catholics unanimously deny that they are bound."[r] Melchior Canus proves "that all things which are even absolutely and simply affirmed in (general) councils are not decrees of faith."[s] Veron observes, that "many things are contained in the universal councils, which are not *de fide*. That is, whatever is said *obiter* is not *de fide*." And he also remarks on the contents of the canons or chapters of such councils, that "this only is *de fide* which is actually defined, or as jurists speak, the *dispositivum arresti;* but the *motivum arresti*, or its *proofs*, are not *de fide*."[t] Thus, it is conceded, that even general councils, which are supposed equivalent to the *universal church*, may hold doctrines which are not *de fide*, and may be disputed; and the reason of this is, because there is no discussion or examination in the case, and the promises of Christ to his church do not apply. Hence, we might infer on the principles of these theologians, that some opinion even *universally* received, is not *de fide*, and may be disputed.

7. In fact, several theologians mentioned by Canus, have held without censure, that "although the church can never want true faith or charity, yet she may probably be ignorant of something, which being unknown, the church's faith is not lost. . . For though she should be deceived, yet a probable and blameless error would not exclude the *faith* of the church."[u] This opinion was held by the author of the Glossa interlinearis, S. Thomas Aquinas, Cardinal Turrecremata, and Alphonsus a Castro. Tournely says that "the church herself may err in

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[q] A General Council according to them is the representative church.—See Eckii Enchirid. p. 16.

[r] Bossuet, Def. Declar. Cler. Gall. lib. iii. c. 1.

[s] Melchior Canus, De Locis Theol. lib. v. c. 5.

[t] Veron, Regula Fidei, c. i. s. 4.

[u] Melchior Canus, De locis Theol. lib. iv. c. iv.

all facts merely personal and historical, whose truth depends on human testimony, in reporting the histories of martyrs and other saints, in citing testimonies of the fathers as genuine which are not so."[v]

8. In fine, I ask whether it is certain that the Roman church herself believes that whatever is commonly held in the church at any particular time is *de fide*, and may not be disputed? I have never observed that any authoritative declaration to this effect has been adduced by Roman theologians.

We may infer from this, that if the Roman opinion of transubstantiation became very common in the West for two or three ages before the reformation, this prevalence could not make it an article of faith. Nor could the adoption of this opinion afterwards by many of the Eastern Christians, confer on it any binding authority. This opinion is disputed by several churches, and is not universally regarded as a matter of faith by Romanists.

II. I have thus endeavoured to show that some opinion which is not *de fide*, and which even is not true, may prevail for a time in a large part of the church. We are now to inquire whether such an opinion may be not merely received in a large part of the church, but held by some persons as a *matter of faith*. I reply that it may: for the promises of Jesus Christ would not fail, in case an opinion untrue, but not contrary to the gospel, were received by some for a time, through a pardonable mistake, as an article of faith. Bossuet says, that "some, many, or even most writers of an age, may say absolutely and certainly, De fide est: erroneum est: hæreticum est: with more confidence than learning."[w] And we know

[v] Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 431.

[w] Bossuet, Def. Declar. Cleri Gallic. Appendix, lib. ii. c. 14. The faculty of theology at Paris, in the fifteenth century, declared the immaculate conception of the Virgin to be *de fide*; and in 1521 declared that the doctrine of Clictovæus, who held that Mary Magdalene was a different person from Mary sister of Martha, and the sinner, was opposed to the doctrine of the catholic church, and should not be tolerated. Fleury, lib.

that in the Roman church, some of the Ultramontanes and Cisalpines, and of the advocates of the immaculate conception, regard their own doctrines as matters of faith, and consider their opponents as heretics. It is admitted by Roman theologians, that if national churches doubt on probable grounds whether a certain œcumenical council is œcumenical, they are not heretical in doubting its decrees :[x] and on the same principle they are bound to admit, that if national churches believe on probable grounds that a non-œcumenical council is œcumenical, they are not heretical in holding its decrees (though erroneous) to be matters of faith. This is actually exemplified by the reception of the synod of Trent in the churches of the Roman obedience.

III. May the church generally adopt a rite or custom which is liable to abuse, which is actually abused, or which tends to disturb the order and peace of the brethren? I answer that she may, because Christ only promised to protect the majority of his church from falling into errors contrary to faith or morality; but this does not necessarily infer the gift of wisdom to perceive the tendencies of particular institutions, or the abuses to which they are subject; and besides, abuses may vary in different places. If, therefore, the church for a time universally

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exxvii. sect. 80. Launoy proves that the Gallican doctrine of the superiority of a general council to the pope, is *de fide*, and cites the Commonitorium of Cardinal de Lorraine in 1563, where he says, "Ego vero negare non possum quin Gallus sim et Parisiensis academiæ alumnus, in qua Romanorum pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, *et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur.*"—Launoii Epistolæ, pars ii. ep. 5. ed. Cantab. 1689.

[x] "Quandoque haud immerito ac bona fide dubitatur, utrum aliqua synodus sit vere œcumenica. Quale dubium contigisse vidimus Hispanicæ et Gallicæ ecclesiæ, circa synodum sextam et septimam, ad quas vocati non essent."—Bossuet, Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. viii. c. ix. See also lib. vii. c. 29. 31. where it is shewn that several general synods were not received by particular churches, which were nevertheless free from heresy. See also Tournely, De Eccl. t. i. p. 401.

adopted the custom of honouring images, and invocating saints to pray for us; these customs might be afterwards accounted very inexpedient and even unlawful to be continued, when a fuller light was thrown on their tendency and abuses.

Hence, we may infer altogether, that consistently with the promises of Christ to his church, several erroneous opinions and superstitious practices might have been received more or less commonly for some time before the reformation; especially in ages when scripture and tradition were less consulted by theologians, than mere philosophical reasonings. Bossuet, in observing on the absurd doctrine that bishops are merely counsellors of the Roman pontiff, and that as they derive everything from him, they can do nothing against his will, says, "This doctrine falls of itself, on this account, that being unheard of in early times, it began to be introduced into theology in the thirteenth century; that is to say, after they *preferred for the most part*, to proceed on philosophical reasonings of the worst description, rather than *to consult the fathers*."[y] Even those who cited the fathers, most commonly did so, either from the Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard, or from the Canon Law: comparatively few seem to have studied the originals. The schoolmen continually cite the Canon law as decisive in matters of doctrine: and no one thought of disputing the genuineness of the eary papal decretals, which are now universally acknowledged to be spurious. Fleury says:—"It was the misfortune of the doctors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to know but little of the works of the fathers, especially the more ancient; and to be deficient in the aids necessary for well understanding them. It is not that their books were lost: they existed, for we have them still: but the copies of them were rare, and hid in the libraries of the ancient monasteries, where little use was made of them. There the king S. Louis caused them to be sought for, and transcribed,

[y] Bossuet, Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallic. lib. viii. c. xi.

and multiplied to the great advantage of learning; and thence arose the great work of Vincent of Beauvais, where we see extracts from so many ancient authors. In the preceding century we see a great number cited in the works of John of Salisbury: but this was the curiosity of some individuals. The generality of students and even of doctors, limited themselves to a few books; chiefly to those of modern authors, which they understood better than the ancients."[z] "I do not cease to wonder that in times so calamitous, and with such small aid, the doctors so faithfully preserved to us the deposit of tradition, as far as relates to doctrine."[a] The Abbé Goujet observes that the study of scripture had "been extremely neglected" when letters began to revive. "They did not engage in the study of it, even in schools of theology, except with great lukewarmness; and they often contented themselves with imperfect extracts from it, found in the writings of some theologian of little solidity, which they put in the hands of those who wished to apply to theologica lscience. Hence, the ignorance which reigned in the clergy; the few defenders which the church found among them to maintain her doctrines against heresies. . . . . The study of holy scripture at length caused men to escape from this lethargy, which would have destroyed the church, if the church could have perished. When it was read in its original, men soon perceived the crowd of errors and false opinions which had inundated the whole church, and which, like a dangerous tare, had nearly choked the good seed." He remarks afterwards, that "the theologians who preceded the 14th century, and were after the time of St. Bernard or St. Thomas, had deprived themselves of an advantage essential to know well the doctrine of the church, in abandoning, or at least neglecting so much the study of the fathers, both Greek and Latin."[b] Hence, we need not wonder at the account which

[z] Fleury, Cinqième Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastque.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Goujet, Discours sur le Renouvellement des Etudes, printed with Fleury's Discourses on Eccl. History.

Melchior Canus gives of the state of theology at the period of the reformation, "Would that we ourselves had not known by experience, that in the present age there were in the universities many, who carried on almost every theological disputation by sophistical and absurd reasonings. The devil caused, (what I cannot say without tears,) that when it was necessary that the scholastic theologians should have been armed with the very best weapons against the invading heresies of Germany, they were absolutely destitute of any, except long reeds, the trifling arms of children. Thus they were generally ridiculed, and justly too, because they possessed no solid image of true theology, but employed its shadows; and would that they had even followed *them*, for they are drawn from the principles of sacred scripture, of which these men did not reach even the shadows. Wherefore, being merely verbally doctors of theology, they contended indeed against the enemies of the church, but most unhappily." He afterwards says, "Wherefore, we may account it sufficiently evident, how badly men can dispute or write concerning theology, who either reject, or are ignorant of the scripture, the apostolical traditions, the doctrines of councils, the decrees of pontifical law, and the doctrine of the ancient saints."[c] In 1530, the faculty of arts of the university of Paris addressed to the parliament a complaint on the manner in which theology was taught. "The study of sacred scripture, they said, is neglected, the holy gospels are no longer cited, the authority of St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and the other fathers, is not employed; theology is nothing more than a sophistical science," &c. The parliament accordingly ordered that no one should be licensed, who had not studied holy scripture, the holy doctors of the church, and the Master of the Sentences.[d] All these circumstances render it highly probable that several opinions may have grown up during the middle ages in the

[c] Melchior Canus, De locis Theol. lib. ix. c. 1.

[d] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. 133. sect. 91.

Latin churches, and obtained more or less prevalence, which the church might reject afterwards, when scripture and the testimony of the fathers were more attentively examined.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The faith of the church cannot fail. The church being the body of Christ, must be moved and governed by its head: if, therefore, the church erred, its error must be referred to Christ. (Canus.)

Answer. (1.) Admitting that the church's faith cannot fail, I deny that there would be any failure in faith, if an opinion was commonly held, which was an error not contrary to faith. (2.) I admit that the church is governed and moved by Christ, in what concerns the preservation of the faith; but maintain that it is not exempted from the temporary prevalence of some erroneous opinions not contrary to faith.

II. If any thing false was maintained by the church as a dogma of the catholic faith, the Spirit of Christ would not always remain with the faithful, and teach them all truth according to his promise.

Answer. I do not suppose that the catholic church, defining formally and collectively, could do so at any time: it has never yet done so: but the Spirit of Truth was given for the preservation of *the truth revealed by Jesus Christ*, which is the meaning of the expression "all truth," here used; and, therefore, if the majority of the church received for a time some error not contrary to faith, and if some in the church held that error as a matter of faith, the promise of Christ would still be fulfilled.

III. The church is "the pillar and ground of the truth;" therefore she cannot propose a false dogma, even through ignorance.

Answer. The catholic church cannot do so by a formal judgment, because all men would be bound to believe her; but particular synods, and many members of the church dispersed,

may do so, because the doctrine may still be examined by the light of scripture and catholic tradition.

IV. If the majority of the church might err on some point, it may have erred in receiving the Gospels as canonical.

Answer. We do not receive the Gospels merely on the testimony of the church at this time existing; but on that of the church in all ages from the beginning.

V. If every doctrine generally received by the members of the existing church be not infallibly true, we may doubt all doctrines which have been taught us.

Answer. Though it be abstractedly possible that some prevalent opinion may be incorrect, yet we should not hesitate to believe generally what is received in the visible church; because the promises of Christ assure us, that the church, on the whole, teaches the truth revealed by him; and the authority which teaches us Christian doctrine is so probable in itself, that we can never be justified in doubting it on any point, unless there be clear evidence that scripture and catholic tradition do not support, but are rather repugnant to it in that point.

VI. If individuals may generally hold an erroneous opinion, they may perhaps be in error in holding the doctrine of the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, &c.

Answer. These doctrines have been amply discussed long ago, and approved by *formal judgments* of the church; and it is as *notorious* that they have been so approved, and always received in the church as matters of faith, as it is that they are so received at this moment. But doctrines which the *universal* church has not defined, or matters held by many individuals without discussion and judgment are not equally certain.

VII. If individuals may at a particular time, commonly hold an erroneous opinion, and through that opinion maintain an error in doctrine, then there can be no binding authority in the tradition of the church, which may have been corrupted at some time.

Answer. Divine Providence would not have permitted any

error, even one which is founded on ignorance, or on a mistaken opinion, to prevail *always* in the church ; because it would, in this case, have worn so strongly the appearance of truth, that it could never have been relinquished. It is also impossible, from the nature of things, that any error could always have prevailed generally in the church ; because the apostles taught nothing but truth, and error could not have been immediately received universally without opposition. But, notwithstanding this, an erroneous opinion might be received commonly at a particular time, considerably after the apostolic age, because it would be always liable to be relinquished when inquiry and discussion arose. Therefore, while I deny that the mere present opinion and doctrine of individuals generally is absolutely infallible, but affords only a probable reason, which may be relinquished when inquiry discerns evidently that a received opinion is only modern ; I maintain, that universal apostolical tradition is of irrefragable authority, as I have elsewhere said.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE NATURE AND AUTHORITY OF ŒCUMENICAL SYNODS.

ŒCUMENICAL, or universal synods, are those assemblies of bishops, which are supposed to represent, in some way, the church universal. They may be divided into two classes: those which have been approved and termed œcumenical by the universal church, and which alone are properly accounted œcumenical councils; and those which the universal church does not so approve and designate. Of the former, there have been only six; the latter are more numerous: and though some of them are received as œcumenical by different parts of the church, their authority is much inferior to that of the former.

Theologians endeavour to lay down several rules for determining whether a council be œcumenical or not. Some contend that all the bishops of the universal church must be summoned by the Roman patriarch; that he alone presides, by himself or his legates; that the decrees of the council need his confirmation. Others dispute the necessity of these conditions, and require the previous consent of the Eastern patriarchs, or of temporal princes.[a] These various opinions, as to the conditions essential to constitute an œcumenical council, are discussed by Launoius, doctor of the Sorbonne;[b] and those Romanists who affirm, as a matter of certainty, that the œcumenical synods are neither more nor less than *eighteen*, would

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[a] For the various questions concerning general councils, and for a refutation of the papal claims, see Field, of the Church, book v. c. 48—53; Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy; Crakanthorp, De loc. arg. ab author. Logicæ, c. 16; Bossuet, Def. Cler. Gallic. lib. vii.; De Barral, Défens. des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, part iii. c. 2; De Hontheim, Febronius, c. vi.; Launoii Epistolæ, pars vi. viii.; Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 308, &c.

[b] Launoii Epistolæ, pars viii. ep. 11.

do well to consult his epistle, in which it is shown that some writers of the Roman obedience only admit nine or ten synods, while others admit various larger numbers. In fact, it is now generally affirmed, by Roman theologians of respectability, after Bossuet,[c] that the only final proof of the œcumenicity of a council, is its acceptance by the universal church as œcumenical; and that this acceptance confers on it such an authority, that no defects in its mode of celebration can be adduced afterwards to throw doubt on its judgments.

The final authority of proper œcumenical synods does not arise merely from the number of bishops assembled in them, but from the approbation of the catholic church throughout the world; which, having received their decrees, examines them with the respect due to so considerable an authority, compares them with scripture and catholic tradition, and by a universal approbation and execution of those decrees, pronounces a final and irrefragable sentence in their favour.

Romanists, however, still most commonly contend that an œcumenical council confirmed by the Roman patriarch is in itself infallible; so that the approbation of the catholic church does not add to its authority, but merely proves that the council was truly œcumenical.[d] Against this doctrine I shall first prove that it is only a matter of opinion, even in the Roman obedience; and secondly, that it is an erroneous opinion.

SECTION I.

THE INFALLIBILITY OF A GENERAL SYNOD, LAWFULLY CELEBRATED, AND CONFIRMED BY THE ROMAN PONTIFF ALONE, IS ONLY A MATTER OF OPINION IN THE ROMAN CHURCHES.

It is necessary to premise that I here speak only of such a synod as consists of the clear *minority* of the whole body of

[c] Bossuet, Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. viii. c. ix. ad fin.; Réponse à plusieurs lettres de Leibnitz, let. xxii.

[d] Subsequens ecclesiæ dispersæ approbatio est tantum signum, quo illius

catholic bishops, as has been the case in *all* synods hitherto.[e] I do not speak of a synod in which the great majority of bishops were assembled, and decreed unanimously. Having stated this, I argue thus :

1. According to the universal doctrine of those Roman theologians who admit the infallibility of a general council confirmed by their pope, their infallibility, when united, arises not from their union, but solely from that of one or other of the parts, *i. e.* either from the council (as the Gallicans hold), or from the pope (as the Ultramontanes hold).[f] But the infallibility of either part is not matter of faith (as Roman theologians admit);[g] therefore, that of the whole, founded on it, cannot be matter of faith.

2. No proofs from scripture or tradition have been adduced

œcumenicitas ita declaratur, ut de illius suprema et infallibili auctoritate nullum moveri possit dubium, sub quocumque prætextu conditionum quæ in illo desiderari dicerentur."—Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 166. See also L. Jos. Hooke, Religionis Nat. et Rev. Principia, t. iii. p. 394.

e "Quisquis sit numerus episcoporum adstantium numquam constituit majorem omnium universi orbis episcoporum partem."—Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 166.

f "Ex quo apparet totam firmitatem conciliorum legitimorum esse a pontifice, non partim a pontifice, partim a concilio."—Bellarm. De Romano Pontifice, lib. iv. c. iii. So also Turrecremata, Summa, lib. iii. c. 58; Gregor. de Valentia, Analysis Fidei Cathol. lib. viii. c. 7. On the other hand, Tournely holds, with the Gallican theologians, that the papal confirmation is not essential to the authority of a general council's decrees; observing, "Absque tali confirmatione . . . suam concilio œcumenico . . . . stare firmitatem et auctoritatem, quam habet a Christo immediate, non a S. Pontifice, cui proinde omnes christiani obedire tenentur cujuscumque conditionis sint, etiam papalis, ut declarat synodus Constantiensis."—Tourn. de Eccl. t. i. p. 219.

g Delahogue proves from the Walenburghs, Veron, Du Perron, the synod of Trent, &c. that the papal infallibility is not *de fide*.—De Eccl. p. 386, &c. Bellarmine, Valentia, Canus, and the Ultramontanes generally, profess to prove that the infallibility of councils, apart from the pope's authority, is so far from being *de fide*, that it is an error.

to prove the infallibility of this *united* authority, except as proving the infallibility of one or other of its parts; but these passages are not sufficiently clear to render the infallibility of either part a matter of faith amongst Romanists; therefore they cannot render that of the whole a matter of faith.

3. According to Bossuet, "that only is to be held impossible in the church, which being done, there would no longer be any safeguard for the truth;"[h] but if a general council, confirmed by the pope, were liable to error, the authority of the catholic church, dispersed throughout the world, would still constitute a sufficient guard for the truth, and therefore it is not impossible that such a council may err.

4. La Chambre, and other Roman theologians, have maintained, without any censure, that the catholic church herself cannot define whether a disputed general council was really general. This opinion is said by Delahogue, to lead to no serious inconvenience, because its authors admit that the consent given by the church to any council, confers on it all the authority of a general council.[i] Nor is there any greater inconvenience in our doctrine, which supposes that the approbation of the church dispersed, gives to the decrees of any council a

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[h] "Id tantum in ecclesia habendum est pro impossibili, quo facto, nullum superesset veritati præsidium: at in casu quem dicimus, tutum superesset in ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritate præsidium: non ergo ille casus est impossibilis. Quæ cum ita sint, ecclesia catholica sola est, quæ nunquam deficere, nunquam errare possit, ac ne momento quidem."—Bossuet, Defensio Declar. Cleri Gallicani, lib. x. c. 36.

[i] "Quidam theologi ultra progressi sunt et dixere ipsam ecclesiam definire non posse aliquod concilium de cujus œcumenicitate dubitaretur, revera œcumenicum fuisse: quia quod inquiunt, ibi agitur de *facto* de quo nihil statui potest nisi innumeræ expendantur circumstantiæ ex quibus pendet illius veritas. Ita inter alios D. La Chambre in Gallico Tractatu de Ecclesia, t. iii. p. 16. et seq. Cum autem isti theologi admittant consensum datum ab ecclesia alicui concilio cujus decreta approbat, illi omnem tribuere auctoritatem concilii œcumenici sive tale sit, sive non, ex hac opinione non videtur grave sequi incommodum."—Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 175.

final and irrefragable authority; therefore it is equally free from censure.

5. In fact, several theologians of the Roman churches have taught this very doctrine. Bouvier says: "Some theologians are of opinion, that this approbation of the church confers all its authority on a general council."[k] This doctrine is taught by De Barral, archbishop of Tours, and by Trevern, bishop of Strasburg, after Bossuet. The first says: "There are facts which prove in an invincible manner, that neither the decrees of popes, nor even those of councils, acquire an irrefragable authority, except by virtue of the consent of the universal church."[l] Trevern cites the following passage from Bossuet, which very plainly teaches that the final authority is in all cases vested in the whole catholic church. "The last mark," he says, "of any council or assembly's representing truly the catholic church, is when the whole body of the episcopate, and the whole society which professes to receive its instructions, approve and receive that council: this, I say, is the last seal of the *authority* of this council and the *infallibility* of its decrees."—"The council of Orange . . was by no means universal. It contained chapters which the pope had sent. In this council there were scarcely twelve or thirteen bishops. But because it was received without opposition, its decisions are no more disputed than those of the council of Nice, *because every thing depends on consent.* There were but few bishops of the West in the council of Nice, there were none in that of Constantinople, none in that of Ephesus, and at Chalcedon only the legates of the pope: and the same may be said of others. But *because all the world consented then or afterwards,* those decrees are the decrees of the whole world. . . . If we go further back, Paul of Samosata was condemned only by a

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[k] "Quidam tamen theologi opinantur hanc ecclesiæ approbationem omnem auctoritatem concilio generali tribuere."—Bouvier, Tract. de Vera Ecclesia, p. 234.

[l] De Barral, Défense des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, p. 284.

particular council held at Antioch: but because its decree was addressed to all the bishops in the world, and received by them (for *in this resides the whole force*, and without it the mere address would be nothing), this decree is immoveable."[m] Hence, I conclude that the doctrine of the infallibility of a general council confirmed by the pope, independently of the consent of the catholic church, is only an opinion in the Roman churches; and though it be the more common opinion, I have shown in the last chapter that the common opinion may not be true. And though some Roman theologians may esteem the contrary doctrine which I shall maintain, as heretical, their opinion by no means proves that this doctrine may not be lawfully held by members of the Roman churches.[n]

SECTION II.

A GENERAL SYNOD CONFIRMED BY THE ROMAN PONTIFF, HAS NOT, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH, ANY IRREFRAGABLE AUTHORITY.[o]

1. The authority of the Roman pontiff is not that of the catholic church. Bossuet, and many other theologians have proved convincingly that he is liable to error and heresy, and that his decision alone affords no infallible ground of faith.[p]

2. Assuming still that the synod consists of the minority of

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[m] Réponse de M. Bossuet à plusieurs lettres de M. Leibnitz,—Lettre xxii. cited by Trevern, Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 222, 223.

[n] See the second division of the last Chapter.

[o] This subject is well treated by Ockham, Dialogus, part i. lib. v. c. 25—28, and lib. iii. prim. tract. iii. part. c. 5—13.

[p] See Bossuet, Gallia Orthodoxa, c. liv. and Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. vii. c. 21—28, where he shows that Honorius erred though speaking ex cathedra. The "Defensio Declarationis cleri Gallicani" is the best work against the exaggerations of the papal power. See also Ockham, Dialogus, part i. lib. v. c. 1—24, where the papal infallibility is refuted. Delahogue shows that the papal infallibility may be lawfully denied by Romanists.—De Ecclesia, p. 386, &c.

the episcopal body, its judgment cannot be final and irrefragable, because Christ has committed the public and authoritative judgment of controversies of faith to all the successors of the apostles in common and equally :[q] but it is contrary to all reason that the minority of a tribunal so constituted, should be empowered to decide controversies finally without the aid of the majority.[r]

3. The authority which is not common to all final and irrefragable judgments in faith is not itself final and irrefragable. Now, decrees are received as such by Romans which have not been made in general councils confirmed by a pope ; *e. g.* those of the provincial synods of Orange, Gangra, Antioch, and Milevis against various heretics.[s] The only authority which is common to all decrees received as final and irrefragable, is the consent of the catholic church dispersed : and hence we may infer, that this authority alone is final.

4. The infallibility of such general synods is not essential to the preservation of the truth and the termination of controversies, for it is undeniable that many heresies have been con-

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[q] This is admitted by the theologians of Rome. "Verba quibus Christus ecclesiæ docenti inerrantiæ donum pollicitus est, spectant ad *corpus* seu ad collectionem episcoporum."—Bailly, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 592. "Privilegium infallibilitatis non individuis sed *corpori* episcoporum fuit promissum ; ita omnes sentiunt."—Bouvier, De Ecclesia, p. 189.

[r] "Collegium quodcumque judicum nunquam *minore* illorum numero repræsentatur, et autoritas quæ definit semper est penes majorem numerum." —Delahogue, De Eccles. p. 148. "Certum est *minorem* numerum episcoporum cæteris contradicentibus, sententiam infallibilem proferre non posse : nam infallibilitas *corpori* episcoporum promissa est : at *minor* numerus majori oppositus corpus illud non repræsentat, ut evidens est."—Bouvier, De Eccl. p. 198. "Una est sola ecclesia militans quæ contra fidem errare non potest. Quia de sola universali ecclesia militante invenitur in scripturis authenticis quia errare non potest. Concilium autem generale licet sit pars ecclesiæ militantis universalis, tamen non est ecclesia universalis. Igitur temerarium est dicere quia concilium generale circa fidem errare non potest."—Ockham, Dialogus, part i. lib. v. c. 25.

[s] See Bossuet, quoted above, p. 149.

demned by bishops in provincial and national synods, and even by individual bishops;[t] and the doctrine that heresy could not be condemned, except by a general synod, was expressly censured by the faculty of theology at Paris, in 1662, as it had been rejected by St. Augustine.[u] Therefore, these assemblies are not essential absolutely, and supposing that under certain circumstances they may appear highly expedient or morally essential, yet their *infallibility* is not so, because the subsequent consent and approbation of the catholic church dispersed would furnish a sufficient safeguard for the truth; and hence we may reasonably infer that such councils are not in themselves infallible, because there is no superfluity in the works and gifts of God.

5. I have before proved that the infallibility of such synods is only a matter of opinion even in the Roman churches, whence it follows that there can be no certain proofs of it either in scripture or tradition, and therefore that Christ cannot have instituted it for his church; and besides this, an opinion cannot serve as a foundation for certain faith, therefore, Romanists can have no certainty of the truth of doctrines defined merely by a synod whose infallibility is a matter of opinion.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The bishops in a general council *represent* the universal church, and as in a commonwealth the representatives of the

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[t] *E. g.* the Pelagians, Sabellians, Apollinarians, Aerians, Eustathians See Melchior Canus, lib. v. c. 4. Many were suppressed by individual bishops.—See Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 331.

[u] Bossuet, Gallia orthodoxa, c. lxxxiii. Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 361. Augustine says: "Quasi nulla hæresis aliquando nisi synodi congregatione damnata sit: cum potius rarissimæ inveniantur, propter quas damnandas necessitas talis extiterit; multoque sint atque incomparabiliter plures, quæ ubi extiterunt, illic improbari damnarique meruerunt, atque inde per cæteras terras devitandæ innotescere potuerunt."—Aug. lib. iv. ad Bonifac. c. ult.

nation have the national authority, so the representatives of the church have the church's authority.[v]

Answer. I deny that bishops can properly or perfectly represent other bishops in deciding questions of faith, so as to render the consent of the latter unnecessary. It is admitted that *all* catholic bishops ought to be summoned to general councils,[w] and if any of them have a lawful impediment, they are not bound to depute other bishops to represent them; they are allowed by the canons to depute deacons or presbyters as their procurators. But these deputies have not the authority of those who sent them. It is uncertain in the Roman church whether they have any right to sit even in provincial synods. Gregory XIII. replied to the provincial synod of Rouen in 1581, that the deputies of absent bishops might have a *deliberative* not a decisive voice, if the synod judged it expedient.[x] In the synod of Trent the procurators of absent bishops were not permitted to have any voice.[y] Nor is the idea of bishops being represented perfectly by others in questions of faith and morality, consistent with the divine institution. Each successor of the apostles is bound to watch over the faith personally; and cannot depute this office and its responsibility to others. Therefore, bishops cannot be represented in a synod except in an imperfect manner, and such a synod consisting of the minority of bishops, together with some

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[v] Bellarmin. De Concil. et Eccl. lib. ii. c. 2. Ockham replies to this argument. Dialog. part i. lib. v. c. 25. Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 370. 376.

[w] "Omnes episcopi qui catholica communione inter se et cum Romano Pontifice devinciuntur, convocandi sunt; nam jure divino omnes æqualem habent potestatem de controversiis circa fidem judicandi; ergo nullius convocatio negligi potest quin jus divinum lædatur."—Bouvier, De Vera Ecclesia, p. 224. See Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 382.

[x] Labbe, Concil, t. xv. p. 873.

[y] "Constat hujusmodi delegatos non nisi ex speciali concessione vocem deliberativam in conciliis habuisse. Concilium Tridentinum hanc facultatem ipsis denegavit."—Bouvier, De Vera Ecclesia, p. 187. So also Delahogue, 182. See Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent by Courayer, vol. i. p. 221.

deputies of absent bishops, does not represent the catholic church so perfectly as to need no subsequent confirmation.

It is true that the decrees of a great synod of bishops from all parts of the world, made after due examination and deliberation, have an exceedingly great authority in themselves; but until they are accepted and executed by the universal church they are not to be considered as judgments of the universal church.

II. If general councils approved by the pope may err, all heresies formerly condemned by general councils will be free from censure, and will revive. The authority of the Nicene creed, and even the canon of scripture, will be doubtful.[z]

Answer. If those ancient decrees were approved by the universal church they are unchangeable; if they were not, the doctrines condemned are not heresies. The Nicene faith rests firmly on the approbation of the universal church: the canon of scripture is not proved by the decrees of general councils, but by catholic tradition.

III. If a council be liable to error, and the people be bound to obey it, they must be led into error; which would be inconsistent with the divine design. But they are bound to obey them, for "He that heareth you heareth me," and "the Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat,"[a] &c.

Answer. I ask, in the words of Bossuet, "should they obey if" the synod "enjoins what is contrary to the divine commands?" Surely not. It may be further objected, that if men are allowed to judge the decrees of a general synod, it must be useless and powerless; which would be contrary to the doctrine and practice of the church. I reply that its authority cannot fail to be very great, in proportion to the numbers, piety, wisdom, and national variety of the bishops present, even supposing that it is still inferior to that of the whole catholic church dispersed throughout all nations. The passages of scripture cited

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[z] Melchior Canus, Loc. Theol. lib. v. c. 4; Turrecremata, Summa de Eccl. l. iii. c. 58; Bellarmin. De Concil. et Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4.

[a] Ibid.

above, relate to the whole body of pastors, and not to a feeble minority of them assembled in council.

IV. If such a council may err, then in any important controversy all will be uncertain, or there will be imminent danger of schism.

Answer. I say with Bossuet, "Neither: for the learned will be held by tradition, as Augustine says happened in the time of Stephen; and the unlearned, if they are true sons of the church, will wait most obediently for the judgment of their pious mother."[b]

V. The decrees of general synods are prescribed to be received under pain of anathema: we must, therefore, blame the fathers who composed them, if any subsequent approbation of the catholic church was requisite.[c]

Answer. The decrees of *provincial* synods, as that of Gangra, have also been prescribed under pain of anathema, yet no one deems them infallible. The anathema is rightly added from the absolute conviction which enables the synod to decide certain questions; but it should be always understood as being only intended to take effect under the supposition that it agrees with the judgment of the universal church. To imagine otherwise of any synod, would be to esteem it presumptuous and impious.

VI. Such an authority would be most useful and convenient, so that something might seem wanting to the splendour of the church if general councils were liable to error.[d]

Answer. Bossuet says truly that "we must not rely upon mere reasonings or wishes, but on certain promises and certain tradition. If it be our pleasure to wish, or rather to dream, we may certainly expect that the Roman pontiff should be not only free from error, but from sin, ignorance, negligence, or

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[b] Bossuet, Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. x. c. 36.

[c] Bellarmin. de Concil. et Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4.

[d] Melchior Canus, ut supra. Delahogue, Tract. de Eccl. Christi, p. 173.

cupidity. We might ask, why, when Christ said to his apostles, 'Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,' the bishops were not, like the apostles, to enjoy the promise of unfailing faith."[e]

VII. Ambrose calls the decrees of general councils "here ditary seals to be broken by no temerity."[f] Leo styles them "the judgments of the whole Christian world."[g] Gregory the Great received the four first general councils, "as the four books of the Gospels."[h] Vincentius Lirinensis attributes whatever is done in general synods to the catholic church: "This, and nothing else, did the catholic church ever perform by the decrees of her councils; namely, to consign in writing to posterity, what she had received by tradition from antiquity."[i] Therefore these fathers believed such councils to be invested with the authority of the whole catholic church.

Answer. They only spoke of synods universally received and approved by the church, which we fully admit to be invested with the authority of the catholic church.

VIII. Several passages of scripture prove the infallibility of general councils. *e. g.* "Tell it to the church, and if he will not hear the church," &c. "The Spirit of truth shall lead you into all truth." "Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." "The church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of the truth."[k]

Answer. (1.) None of these passages can prove the point in question, because I have already shown that it is nothing more than a matter of opinion even in the Roman churches. (2.) These passages, in promising inerrancy, relate to the church

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[e] Bossuet, Defensio Decl. Cler. Gallic. lib. x. c. 36.

[f] Ambros. de Fide, l. iii. c. 15.

[g] Leo, Epist. lxiii. ad Theodoret. Labbe, Conc. t. iii.

[h] Gregor. Epist. ad Joan. Constantinop. Episc. Epistolar. lib. i. c. 24.

[i] Vincent. Lirin. Commonitor. c. 13. 28.

[k] Bellarmin. de Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 2.

universal, or to the successors of the apostles collectively, not to a small minority of them assembled in Synod.

IX. It may be objected that our Saviour seems to attribute infallible authority to a minority. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[l]

Answer. (1.) Were this interpretation correct, it would prove *provincial* synods infallible, and equal in authority to general synods, which no one admits. Besides that, every thing would be thrown into confusion, if in the tribunal of the church a minority could issue a final judgment. (2.) The promise of our Saviour in these words only relates to the ordinary aid and protection of divine grace, which does not infer exemption from all possibility of error.

X. The apostolical synod held at Jerusalem on the question of legal observances was only attended by four apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, and yet their decrees commenced with these words, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," in which the supreme and infallible authority of general councils according to Tournely is inscribed as it were "in sunbeams."[m]

Answer. This meeting does not correspond with the description of a general synod, inasmuch as all the apostles do not seem to have been summoned to it. Nor has it ever been accounted a general council by the catholic church, which reckons the synod of Nice as the *first* general council. Melchior Canus says that this apostolic synod was not general but provincial.[n] It is in fact a model for *all* synods which are to decide matters of controversy, and would prove the infallibility

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[l] Tournely de Ecclesia, t. i. p. 378.

[m] Tournely de Ecclesia, t. i. p. 387. Delahogue, Tract. de Eccl. Christi, p. 167.

[n] "Quod enim ibi congregatum legitur, hoc non generale sed provinciale concilium fuit."—Melc. Canus, Loc. Theol. lib. v. c. 4. conclusio 5.

of provincial synods, as well as that of general synods. Besides this, the apostles possessed the miraculous assistance of the Holy Ghost; and consequently might decide absolutely and infallibly, without any need that their decree should be confirmed by the authority of the church dispersed.[o]

XI. The synod of Constance decreed in their fifth session, that a general council represents the universal church; and that obedience is due to it by all persons, even by the Pope; and this decree was confirmed by Pope Martin V. The same was decreed by the synod of Basil. Therefore, he who denies the authority of a general council denies that of the universal church.[p]

Answer. (1.) I admit that a general council represents the universal church, but not so perfectly as to be able to dispense with the confirmation of the universal church dispersed. (2.) Bellarmine affirms that the council of Constance was not œcumenical at that time, being only attended by a third part of the Latin church; and that Martin V. did not confirm its decree, because it had not been made *conciliariter*, and after examination.[q] The same objections are urged by Gregorius de Valentia[r] from Cajetan, and by Ligorio.[s] The synod of Basil is rejected by the same writers as not œcumenical when it made its decision.

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[o] Melchior Canus, Loc. Theolog. lib. v. c. 4.

[p] See Ockham, Dialog. lib. iii. 1 tract. iii. partis c. 5.

[q] Bellarminus de Concil. Auctor. lib. ii. c. 19.

[r] Gregor. de Valentia, Analys. Fid. Cath. lib. viii. c. 7.

[s] Ligorio, Theol. Moral. lib. i. art. 129—133.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE DECREES OF SYNODS.

With respect to the definitions of synods concerning faith and morals, it may be observed first, that when the catholic church approves the judgment of any council, she does not necessarily declare the validity of the *proofs* adduced in that judgment to support it; nor does she authorize every thing which may be introduced in *explanation*, in *reply to objection*, or even *cursorily* and *incidentally*. The church only approves the substantial doctrine which has been defined: and she offers no opposition to incidental positions advanced in connection with such doctrine, though she may judge them less probably true; provided they do not endanger the articles of her faith.

Secondly, the church cannot decide questions *beyond her province;* that is, she has no authority by divine right, in questions of politics, general law, physics, or any other science; and had the universal church ever made any definition in such matters it would not be obligatory on any individual.

The principles stated above, are acknowledged by Roman theologians, and are of great use in controversy, by enabling us to discriminate the real definitions of the catholic church from extraneous matters which others may attempt to mix up with them, to the disadvantage of the cause of revealed truth, and of our catholic and apostolic churches.

Melchior Canus, whose doctrine in this point has been followed by all subsequent Roman theologians, says, "If all things in councils are not certain (for the Holy Spirit does not assist them in every thing) by what method shall we discover those decrees of councils which are certain in matters of faith?" In reply to this question he observes: "The doctrine of pontiffs and councils is a judgment of faith, if it be proposed to the whole church,

and if it be also proposed with an obligation to believe it. But we should carefully remark both the nature of the *things* about which the judgment is made, and the due meaning and weight of the *words:* for all ecclesiastical doctrine which we are bound to embrace, is not of the same degree, nor are all judgments to be accounted equally important. . . . . We say, that all matters contained in the volumes of the canon law or of the councils, are not judgments of Christian doctrine; nor again are all judgments of doctrine decisions of *faith:* for many things pertain to the sound discipline of the church, which are not decrees of faith." "Is there any mark then by which the judgments of councils concerning faith may be distinguished? Certainly. The first and most manifest is, when those who assert the contrary are adjudged heretics. . . . . Another mark is, when a synod prescribes its decrees in this manner: If any one be of this or that opinion, let him be anathema. . . . . A third is, when the sentence of excommunication is denounced *ipso jure* against those who contradict a doctrine. . . . . A fourth, when it is expressly and peculiarly declared of any thing, that it ought to be firmly believed by the faithful, or received as a doctrine of the catholic faith: — declared I say, not merely from opinion, but by a certain and firm decree. . . . . Moreover those things which are introduced into the decrees of councils or pontiffs, either by way of explanation, reply to objections, or even *obiter* and *in transcursu*, beyond the principal design, the matter actually in controversy; such do not belong to faith, that is, are not judgments of catholic faith."[a]

Veron observes that in the decisions of a general council, it is only the decision itself, not its motive or proof which is *de fide:*—That what is said incidentally by synods is not *de fide*, much less what is said by particular prelates in the sessions of synods; still less, what is proposed by doctors for the discussion of matters about to be defined.[b] These principles are

[a] Melchior Canus, de Locis, Theol. lib. v. c. 5.

[b] Veron, Regula Fidei, c. i. s. 4.

generally admitted by Roman theologians, as by Bossuet,[c] Delahogue,[d] &c.

The second principle above mentioned, is also maintained by Melchior Canus, Bellarmine, Veron, Bossuet, Tournely, Bouvier,[e] &c. Delahogue says "Veron, in his 'Rule of Faith,' c. 4. p. i. no. 8, says, 'The object ought to be definable as a matter of faith: therefore doctrines relating to law or philosophy, are not definable as matters of faith.'" He then cites Bellarmine, who (lib. iv. de Roman. Pontiff.) allows "that John XXII. was in error, when he taught that use could not be separated from dominion in things consumable by use; but not in error concerning *faith*, for this question did not pertain to faith."[f]

Hence it follows that the church could never have defined as a matter of faith the common Roman opinion of transubstantiation, which supposes that the appearances and accidents of bodies have a real existence, and can in the nature of things be separated from the substances in which they are inherent; and that the matters of different bodies are really different. Such questions belong not to the church to decide: nor can any decisions concerning them be matters of faith. This seems to have been felt indeed by several members of the Roman obedience. Cassander having asserted the doctrine of such a conversion as renders the bread and wine the eucharist of Christ's body and blood really present, says: "Would that, content with such an explanation, we might abstain from superfluous questions, in no respect pertaining to *faith* and piety,"[g] thus intimating his persuasion that the opinion of transubstantiation was not a matter of faith. The learned Benedictine Barnes says, that "the assertion of transubstantiation, or substantial change of the bread,

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[c] Bossuet, Defens. Declar. Cler. Gall. lib. iii. c. 1.

[d] Delahogue, de Eccl. Christi, p. 213, 214.

[e] Bouvier, Episc. Cenomanensis, Tract. de vera Ecclesia, p. 235, where he cites these theologians. See above, p. 94.

[f] Delahogue, p. 210.

[g] Cassander, Consultatio de Artic. Relig. Oper. p. 939.

although the more common opinion, is not the faith of the church."[h] Des Cartes was charged by the doctors of Louvain with advancing philosophical principles, which subverted altogether the doctrine of transubstantiation.[i] In fact, though he laboured at first to prove the consistency of his views with that doctrine, in reply to Arnauld; he ultimately taught that the real presence in the eucharist consisted in the union of the matter of bread with the soul of our Lord Jesus Christ.[k] This doctrine, which was entirely contrary to the common Roman opinion of transubstantiation was also publicly maintained by Père Des Gabets, De Viogué, De Clerselier, Rohault, and other members of the Roman church.[l] Early in the last century, the Père Cally, in a work entitled Durand commenté, maintained the opinion of Durand, that transubstantiation consisted in the conversion of the substantial form of bread into that of our Lord; the matter of bread remaining. The doctors of the Sorbonne, in their correspondence with Archbishop Wake, were willing to relinquish the term transubstantiation altogether, and only to retain the doctrine of a real conversion and presence;[m] and M. Courayer, canon regular of S. Genevieve, publicly taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation, as defined by the synod of Trent, was only the common opinion of the schools at that time; and that it was a point purely philosophical which they chose to erect into a dogma.[n] In fine, we may observe, that Roman writers generally, in the present day, avoid as much as possible the question of transubstantiation, and wish only to engage in controversies on the real presence: and there are other reasons for believing that

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[h] Barnes, Catholico-Romanus pacificus, s. viii. in Brown's Fasciculus Rerum, t. ii. p. 849.

[i] Doctorum aliquot Lovan. Judicia, A.D. 1653.

[k] La Vie de M. Des Cartes, part. ii. p. 520. [l] Ibid. 521.

[m] See Maclaine's third Appendix to Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. The Commonitorium of Du Pin, which contains the above proposal, was, it seems, read and approved in the Sorbonne.

[n] Courayer, Hist. du Conc. de Trente, from Sarpi, t. i. p. 547.

some of them do not view the former doctrine as an article of faith.

With regard to the *canons*, or decrees of discipline, made by œcumenical synods, it may be observed, that they are of a different authority from their decrees on faith ; and that generally they are not binding on churches, except by their own consent. But of this I shall speak more fully when the authority of the church in matters of discipline is under consideration.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE SIX ŒCUMENICAL SYNODS.

The catholic church has never received or approved more than six synods as œcumenical, which are as follows: 1. The synod of 318 bishops at Nice in Bithynia, A. D. 325; 2. the synod of 150 bishops at Constantinople, A.D. 381; 3. the synod of 200 bishops at Ephesus, A.D. 431; 4. the synod of 630 bishops at Chalcedon, A.D. 451; 5. the synod of 165 bishops at Constantinople, A.D. 553; 6. the synod of 170 bishops at Constantinople, A.D. 680. The oriental church admits one other synod as œcumenical,[a] the Roman churches now also acknowledge several others but are not agreed as to their number. The six synods alone have been universally received by the catholic church.

Some of our theologians, as Hooker and Andrewes, seem to acknowledge only four œcumenical synods; but they are then to be understood as speaking only of those which are the principal and most important, and which virtually include the others: for the fifth and sixth synods were supplementary to the third and fourth, and did not, properly speaking, condemn any new heresy. Field says: "Concerning the general councils of this sort, that hitherto have been holden, we confess, that in respect of the matter about which they were called, so nearly and essentially concerning the life and soul of the Christian faith, and in respect of the manner and form of their proceeding, and the evidence of proof brought in them, they are, and ever were, expressly to be believed by all such as perfectly understand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore

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[a] The synod of Nice under Irene, 787

it is not to be marvelled at, if Gregory profess that he honoureth the first four councils, as the four gospels, and that whosoever admitteth them not, though he seem to be a stone elect and precious, yet he lieth beside the foundation and out of the building. Of this sort there are only six,"[b] &c. He seems, however, to allow the second Nicene 787, and the fourth of Constantinople 869, as general; though disapproving the former. Dr. Hammond teaches that there are only six œcumenical synods, and that the rest so called are of no binding authority.[c] The same is shewn by Saywell,[d] Crakanthorp,[e] and others.

The six œcumenical synods were also received by the Polish confession,[f] and generally acknowledged by the Lutherans and reformed.[g]

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[b] Field, of the church, b. 5. c. 51.

[c] Hammond, of Heresy, c. iii. s. 7—11.

[d] Saywell on Schism, p. 211.

[e] "Sex fuisse generalia legitima concilia nemini est dubium." Crakanthorp, de loco arguend. ab Authorit. Logicæ, c. xvi. reg. 12. S. Ward, Determinat. Theol. p. 103. cited by Saywell, Præfat. Epist. Launoii.

[f] Declaratio Thoruniensis, I.

[g] Calvin, says, "Sic priscas illas synodos, ut Nicænam, Constantinopolitanam, Ephesinam primam, Chalcedonensem, ac similes, quæ confutandis erroribus habitæ sunt, libenter amplectimur, reveremurque ut sacrosanctas, quantum attinet ad fidei dogmata: nihil enim continent quam puram et nativam scripturæ interpretationem, quam sancti Patres, spirituali prudentia, ad frangendos religionis hostes, qui tunc emerserant, accommodarunt."—Calv. Institut. l. iv. c. ix. s. 8. He rejects the error of the Monothelites, condemned by the sixth œcumenical synod.—Inst. ii. 16. 12. The Helvetic Confession, 1566, cap. xi. receives the creeds and doctrines of the first four and principal councils, and all others like them. The Centuriators of Magdeburg admit the six œcumenical synods. — Saywell, Præfat. Epist. Launoii juxta fin. cites the reformed divines, Chamier, Alsted, Daille, as of the same sentiment.

SECTION I.

THE SYNOD OF NICE.

The first œcumenical synod of 318 bishops, was assembled at Nice, A. D. 325, by order of the Emperor Constantine,[h] to terminate the controversy raised by Arius, presbyter of Alexandria, who denied the divinity of the Son of God, maintaining that he was a creature brought forth from nothing, and susceptible of vice and virtue.[i] Though the authors of these blasphemies had been condemned by a synod at Alexandria, under Alexander, bishop of that church in 320,[k] and by another larger synod at the same place shortly afterwards, which addressed a synodal letter to all churches;[l] yet the Arian party, headed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, having also held a meeting at Bithynia,[m] and addressed a letter to all churches in favour of Arius, the judgment of an œcumenical synod became necessary.

The synod was held in a hall of the imperial palace.[n] Its presidents were, Alexander Pope of Alexandria, Eustathius bishop of Antioch, and Hosius bishop of Corduba.[o] The presbyters, Vitus and Vincentius, attended as representatives of the Roman bishop, but none of the ancient writers, except Gelasius

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[h] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 8; Sozomen. lib. i. c. 17; Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 4. 7.

[i] Socrates, i. 56. 59. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 9. Fleury, liv. x. s. 39.

[k] Socrates, i. 6.; Athanas. or I. cont. Arianos; Fleury, liv. x. c. 38.

[l] Socrates, lib. i. c. 6; Theodoret, i. c. 4. 7.

[m] Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 15.

[n] Eusebii Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. 10; Theodoret, i. 7.

[o] Richerius, (Histor. Concil. General. pars i. c. 2.) proves that Alexander and other patriarchs presided. Launoius (Epist. ad Raimund. Formentin. Epist. p. 701. Ed. Cantab.) proves from the synodal epistle, Eusebius, Proclus, Felix III. Facundus Hermianensis, Athanasius, Theodoret, Sozomen, &c. that Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Hosius of Corduba, presided.

of Cyzicum, who wrote about 476, state that they presided in the synod, or that Hosius was a legate of the bishop of Rome. These fables were propagated about the ninth century.[p]

Arius was permitted to state his doctrines before the synod,[q] which after much disputation and inquiry condemned them as heretical, and declared the faith of the church in that celebrated creed or confession, which has ever since been received and venerated by the universal church, and even by many sects and heresies.[r]

The synod also made several regulations in matters of discipline. It determined that the feast of Easter should be always held on the Sunday after the full moon, which occurs next after the vernal equinox;[s] and that the Meletian schismatics should be reunited to the church on certain conditions.[t] In fine, twenty canons were made.[u]

The decrees of the synod were published to all the church by a synodal epistle addressed to "the church of Alexandria, and the beloved brethren throughout Egypt, Pentapolis, Lybia, and all others under the heavens;" in which the fathers informed them that they had anathematised "Arius and his impious doctrine, by which he had blasphemed the Son of God, saying, that he was brought forth from nothing, that he did not exist before he was ingendered, and that there was a time when he did not exist; that by his free-will he is capable of vice and virtue, and that he is a creature. The holy council has anathematised all this, scarcely enduring even to listen to such blasphemies."[v] The emperor also addressed a letter to all churches, exhorting them to receive the decrees of the synod, and imposed penalties on the Arian sect.[w] Gelasius of Cyzicum states that the prin-

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[p] Launoii Epistolæ, ut supra. [q] Socrates, lib. i. c. 9.

[r] *E. g.* by the Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Pelagians, &c.

[s] Fleury, liv. xi. s. 14. [t] Ibid. s. 15.

[u] See Dr. Routh's Opuscula. [v] Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 9.

[w] Eusebii Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. 14, &c.; Theodoret, lib. i. c. 10; Socrates, lib. i. c. 9.

cipal bishops of the synod were deputed to convey its decrees to all provinces.[x] Marius Victorinus also states that they were sent throughout the whole world, and approved universally.[y] Sulpitius Severus remarks, that the Arians themselves "not daring to utter any thing against the sound faith, returned to their churches, as if acquiescing, and holding nothing else."[z] And in fact, when Eusebius of Nicomedia and the Arian party urged the readmission of Arius to the catholic church in 336, the latter professed that he followed the *Nicene faith*:[a] nor did the Arian party venture to compose any new formulary of faith until their synod of Antioch in 341, full sixteen years after the Nicene Creed had been universally professed, even by themselves.

The Nicene faith was therefore universally received, approved, and acted on by the church throughout the whole world, and thus expressed evidently the judgment of the universal church. And though afterwards the Arian party, supported by the Emperor Constantius, troubled the church for nearly thirty years, expelling from their sees the most orthodox bishops, and constructing various confessions of faith; the Nicene doctrine was always held by the great majority of the church, and finally triumphed over all opposition: it was received by the council of Milan 347,[b] by the council of Sardica of 100 bishops in 347,[c] by the council of Jerusalem,[d] and by the synod of Ariminum of 400 bishops in 359,[e] while that synod was free.

S. Athanasius informs us that in 363 the Nicene faith was approved by all the churches in the world, in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mysia, Macedonia, Greece, Africa,

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[x] Gelasius Cyzicen. Hist. Conc. Nic. lib. ii. c. 35.

[y] Marius Victorinus, lib. ii. contra Arium. Bibl. Patr.

[z] Sulpitius Severus, Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.

[a] See Socrates, i. 26; Fleury, liv. xi. s. 58. In his confession of faith he protested that he used the words in the sense of the church. See Harduini Concilia, t. i. p. 551.

[b] Fleury, l. xii. s. 33. [c] Ibid. 35. [d] Socrates, ii. 24.

[e] Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 17. Socrates, ii. 37.

Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria, Egypt, Lybia, Pontus, Capadocia, and throughout the East, except a few which followed the heresy of Arius.[f] S. Basil accounted the 318 fathers to be inspired by the Holy Ghost.[g] Gregory of Nazianzum held that the Nicene fathers were assembled by the Holy Ghost:[h] and several synods held in Gaul, Spain, and Rome, sent synodical letters every where, declaring that "henceforth no synod ought to be received in the church, but only that of Nice."[i] In fine, the Nicene faith was confirmed by the œcumenical synod of Constantinople, A. D. 381,[k] by those of Ephesus,[l] Chalcedon,[m] and a multitude of others. The Nicene faith has ever since been firmly held and believed by all Christians; and therefore, as I have already shown, it is to be accounted an irrefragable, unalterable rule, which cannot be disputed without heresy, and for which, as the Egyptian synod wrote, "we should be ready even to lay down our lives."

The authentic monuments of this council are the creed,[n] twenty canons,[o] and the synodal epistle.[p]

SECTION II.

THE FIRST SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The second œcumenical synod of 150 oriental bishops was assembled by the Emperor Theodosius[q] the elder, in 381, to

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[f] Athanasii Epist. ad Jovian. Imper. Oper. 781. p. Ed. Ben.

[g] Basil. Epist. 114. Oper. t. iii. p. 207. Ed. Ben.

[h] Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. t. i.

[i] Athanasii Opera, p. 901.

[k] Canon I.

[l] Harduin. Concilia, t. i. p. 1362.

[m] Definitio Fidei apud Routh, Opuscula, p. 427, &c.

[n] Routh, Opuscula, p. 351. Socrates, Hist. Eccl. i. 8.

[o] Routh, Opuscula, p. 354, &c. Beveregii Pandect. Justelli Bibl. Jur. Can.

[p] Socrates, i. 9. Theodoret, i. 6.

[q] Natalis Alexander proves that it was assembled without consulting

appease the troubles of the east. Timothy of Alexandria, and others, successively presided:[r] and no one was present on the part of Damasus bishop of Rome and the other western bishops.

The heresy of Macedonius, who blasphemously taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature, as Arius and Eunomius had blasphemed the Son of God,[s] had been condemned, and the orthodox doctrine of the consubstantial Trinity had been taught in the synods of Alexandria 362,[t] Illyricum 367,[u] Rome 367,[v] and Rome 381 or 382.[w] The synod of Constantinople now anathematized the Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, as well as the Eunomians and other sects of Arians, the Sabellians, and other heresies:[x] and in opposition to the Apollinarians, and the Macedonians, enlarged the Nicene creed by some passages concerning the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation, and of the real divinity of the Holy Ghost.[y] Six canons also were made concerning discipline.

The synod addressed an epistle to the Emperor Theodosius informing him of their decrees, and requesting him to authorize

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Pope Damasus. Hist. Eccl. Sæcul. iv. Dissert. xxxvi. Richerius treats of this synod, Hist. Conc. General. lib. i. c. 5.

[r] Natalis Alexander, ibid. Art. II.

[s] Theodoret, Heretic. Fabular. lib. iv. c. 5; Epiphanius, adv. Hæres. hær. lxxiv.

[t] Harduini Concilia, t. i. p. 731. Athanasii Opera, t. ii. p. 770.

[u] Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 9.

[v] Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 773; Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 22.

[w] Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 11. Their decree ran as follows: "Quia post concilium Nicænum hic error inolevit, ut quidam ore sacrilego auderent dicere, Spiritum Sanctum factum esse per Filium; anathematizamus eos, qui non tota libertate proclamant, eum cum Patre et Filio unius potestatis esse atque substantiæ. . . . . Anathematizamus Macedonianos qui de Arii stirpe venientes, non perfidiam mutavere, sed nomen."

[x] Harduin. Conc. t. i. p. 809.

[y] Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl. Sæc. iv. Dissert. xxxvii. traces the reasons for the additions made to the Nicene Creed.

them;[z] and he accordingly published an edict commanding all churches to be delivered to bishops who held the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.[a] Thus the decree of the synod of Constantinople could not fail to be known to the whole church, and from the date of its publication, the Macedonians were always regarded as heretics: and the divinity of the Holy Ghost, consubstantial with the Father and the Son, was universally acknowledged. It is not clear, however, that the synod of Constantinople was immediately acknowledged every where as equal in authority to that of Nice. The Egyptian churches seem not to have accounted it as such. In the synodal epistle of the council of Alexandria to Nestorius, the synod of Nice only is spoken of:[b] and the Nicene creed alone was approved by the third œcumenical synod of Ephesus in 431:[c] but the greater part of the church seem to have accounted the synod of Constantinople œcumenical then, or shortly after. Flavianus of Constantinople, in his profession of faith, acknowledged the three synods of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus.[d] Eusebius of Dorylæum in his profession of faith made at Rome in presence of Pope Leo received the same.[e] Socrates and Sozomen also speak of this synod as they do of the synod of Nice,[f] and in fine, the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon in 451, consisting of 630 bishops, approved the Constantinopolitan creed, which it caused to be read after that of Nice.[g] From this time the council of Constantinople was acknowledged by all churches to be œcumenical; as appears by the answers of the bishops of the whole world to the encyclical letters of the Emperor Leo, in 458, in which they universally received the four œcumenical synods.[h]

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[z] Fleury, liv. xviii. s. 8. [a] Ibid. s. 9.
[b] Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 1439. [c] Canon vii.
[d] Fleury, liv. xxvii. s. 33. Harduin. Concil. t. ii. p. 7.
[e] Fleury, liv. xxvii. s. 49.
[f] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 8. Sozomen, 6, 7.
[g] Synod. Chalced. Definitio Fidei, Harduin. ii. 451, 452.
[h] Harduin. Concil. ii. 691—768.

The Constantinopolitan creed was even received by all churches into their Liturgies and other offices, in preference to that of Nice. It was only rejected by the Eutychians because it expressed more fully the orthodox doctrine of the incarnation.[i] Hence, this creed, having been received and approved by all churches, and never disputed for a moment by any catholic, cannot teach any error in faith, but must be irrefragably true, and binding on all churches, even to the end of the world.

The authentic records of the council of Constantinople are, its seven canons, creed, and synodal epistle to the Emperor Theodosius.[k]

SECTION III.

THE SYNOD OF EPHESUS.

The third œcumenical synod of 200 bishops, was assembled by the Emperor Theodosius the younger,[l] to determine the controversy raised by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who declaimed against the title of Theotokos, which the church had long applied to the Virgin Mary as the mother of Him who was both God and Man. He taught that the Son of man and God the Word were different persons, connected only by a moral or apparent union; contrary to the scripture, which declared, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," and that God "purchased the church with his own blood." (Acts xx. 28.) When the people of Constantinople and all the east, together with Cyril of Alexandria, Celestine of Rome, and many other great bishops, declared their alarm and disapprobation at this doctrine, Nestorius endeavoured to defend himself by charging his opponents with errors which they did not maintain, and by offering to employ the term Theotokos in a

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[i] See Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl. ut supra.

[k] See the creed and canons in Routh's Opuscula, p. 372, &c.

[l] Richerii Hist. Conc. General. t. i. c. vii; Natalis Alexander, sæc. v. Dissert. 7.

sense which afforded no security for the orthodox doctrine. The councils of Alexandria under S. Cyril,[m] and of Rome under Celestinus,[n] condemned the doctrine of Nestorius in 430, and the œcumenical synod of Ephesus also condemned it in 431.[o] The judgment of this synod was at once approved by the whole Western church, and by far the greater part of the East; it was subsequently confirmed by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon of 630 bishops,[p] and ever afterwards acknowledged to be legitimate by the whole catholic church. Hence, it is not to be supposed that the council of Ephesus unjustly condemned Nestorius; though his ambiguous expressions and his attempts to palliate his original doctrine, for a short time deceived John patriarch of Antioch, and several bishops of that patriarchate, into a belief that he was in reality orthodox.[q] Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, for many years maintained the orthodoxy of Nestorius, but was obliged by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon to anathematize him as a heretic.[r] John of Antioch and the eastern bishops very soon agreed with the synod of Ephesus.[s]

The want of regularity, which is alleged against the proceedings of this synod, cannot throw any doubt on the case of Nestorius, because it is not credible that there should have been any real injustice in a decree which the universal church deliberately ratified and approved. And if the synod, consisting of *two hundred* bishops, after waiting sixteen days in vain for the arrival of John of Antioch and his bishops (about twenty-five in number,) proceeded without them to judge the cause

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[m] Fleury, liv. xxv. s. 21.

[n] Ibid. s. 14.

[o] Harduin. Conc. t. ii. p. 1359—62, 1387—95.

[p] Definitio Fidei, Routh Opuscula.

[q] See Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl. v. Sæc. Dissert. vi. where Nestorius is convicted of heresy, in opposition to the pretences of some modern writers. [See above: Notes on Part I. ch. xiv.]

[r] Concil. Chalced. Act. VIII. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. xxviii. s. 24.

[s] Fleury, liv. xxvi. s. 21.

for which they were assembled, shall it be said, that so great a synod was not competent to do so? Many bishops had arrived from a much greater distance at the time appointed. Nestorius, it is said, was condemned unheard; but the council summoned him three times to defend himself; and on his refusal, condemned him after examining his writings, and hearing competent witnesses as to his sentiments.[t] There never was a cause more fully discussed by the church; for the violent opposition offered to the decrees of the synod of Ephesus at first by John of Antioch and his party, caused the judgment of the church to appear suspended for a time; and then, after mature examination, the emperor[u] and all the church united in ratifying the condemnation of Nestorius.

The doctrine approved by this synod and received by the universal church, is contained in the epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius, which was read in the synod and approved by every one of the bishops.[v] This epistle was also approved universally in the church. The synodal epistle of St. Cyril to Nestorius, concluding with twelve anathemas against the several Nestorian errors, was also read in the council,[w] and authorized, as well as the former, by the synodal letter to the emperor;[x] and though some persons pretended that it was incautiously worded, it was afterwards approved, together with the former epistle of St. Cyril, by the great council of Chalcedon.[y] The fifth œcumenical synod afterwards condemned the writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril's epistles.[z]

The doctrine of the incarnation taught by the epistles of St. Cyril, and approved by the catholic church, is as follows: "The great and holy synod (of Nice) said, that He 'who was

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[t] Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 1359—62; 1387—95.

[u] Fleury, liv. xxvi. s. 34.

[v] Harduin. i. 1363—87.

[w] Harduin. i. 1395.

[x] Ibid. 1439—43

[y] Definitio Fidei, Syn. Chalc. Harduin, Conc. t. ii. p. 451. Natalis Alexander, Sæc. v. Dissert. 8. defends the epistles of St. Cyril from all charges of error.

[z] Collat. viii. Harduin. iii. 188—202.

begotten of the Father as the only-begotten Son by nature; who was true God of true God, Light of Light, by whom the Father made all things; that He descended, became incarnate, and was made man, suffered, rose on the third day, and ascended into the heavens.' These words and doctrines we ought to follow, in considering what is meant by the Word of God being 'incarnate and made man.'

"We do not say that the nature of the Word was converted and became flesh; nor that it was changed into perfect man, consisting of body and soul: but rather, that the Word, uniting to himself *personally* flesh, animated by a rational soul, became man in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, and became the Son of man, not merely by will and affection, nor merely by the assumption of one aspect or appearance; but that different natures were joined in a real unity, and that there is one Christ and Son, of two natures; the difference of natures not being taken away by their union. . . . . It is said also, that He who was before all ages, and begotten of the Father, was 'born according to the flesh, of a woman;' not as if his divine nature had taken its beginning from the holy Virgin . . . but because for us, and for our salvation, He united personally to himself the nature of man, and proceeded from a woman; therefore He is said to be 'born according to the flesh.' . . . . So also we say that He 'suffered and rose again,' not as if God the Word had suffered in his own nature the stripes, the nails, or the other wounds; for the Godhead cannot suffer, as it is incorporeal: but because that which had become his own body suffered, He is said to suffer these things for us. For He who was incapable of suffering was in a suffering body. In like manner we understand his 'death.' . . . . Because his own body, by the grace of God, as Paul saith, tasted death for every man, He is said to suffer death,"[a] &c.

The acts of the synod of Ephesus are extant in all the col-

[a] Harduin. Concilia, t. i. p. 1274.

lections of the councils. It accounted the Pelagians to be heretics,[b] and made eight canons of discipline.[c]

SECTION IV.

THE SYNOD OF CHALCEDON.

The fourth œcumenical synod, of 630 bishops, was assembled by the Emperor Marcian in 451, at Chalcedon.[d] The legates of Pope Leo of Rome presided at the emperor's desire. This synod published a confession or definition of faith, in which the doctrine and creeds of the three preceding councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, were confirmed; the epistles of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and that of Leo of Rome, on the incarnation, were approved: and the orthodox doctrine of the existence of two perfect and distinct natures, the divine and human, in the unity of the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, was clearly defined.[e]

Eutyches, and Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, who maintained that there was only one nature in our Lord Jesus Christ after the incarnation, or union of the divinity and humanity, were condemned as heretics by this council. Eutyches had been already condemned by the synod of Constantinople under Flavianus bishop of that see;[f] who was in his turn deposed by Dioscorus and the pseudo-synod at Ephesus,[g] called the Latrocinium, from the violence of its proceedings. The œcumenical synod of Chalcedon annulled the decree of this pseudo-synod, and though a few bishops of Egypt and Palestine, of the party of Dioscorus, opposed the orthodox doctrine, and founded the

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[b] Canons i. iv.

[c] See Routh's Opuscula.

[d] Richer. Hist. Conc. General. t. i. c. viii. Natal. Alexander, sæc. v. Dissert. 11.

[e] Harduin. Conc. ii. 451—455. On the authority of the Epistle of St. Leo, see Natal. Alexander, sæc. v. Dissert. 12. See the Epistle itself. Harduin. Conc. ii. 290, &c.

[f] Harduin. ii. 110, &c.

[g] Ibid. p. 71, &c.

Monophysite sect; the infinite majority of the catholic church throughout the world received the doctrine of the œcumenical synod. This appears especially from the epistles of the bishops of all provinces which were obtained by the Emperor Leo seven years after the council, when all unanimously received and approved the doctrine of the synod of Chalcedon and the other œcumenical councils.[h] The doctrine taught by the synod of Chalcedon is as follows: "We confess, and with one accord teach, one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; perfect in the divinity, perfect in the humanity; truly God and truly man; consisting of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like to us, without sin: who was begotten of the Father before all ages, according to the Godhead; and in the last days the same born according to the manhood, of Mary the Virgin, Mother of God, for us and our salvation: who is to be acknowledged one and the same Christ, the Son, the Lord, the only-begotten, in two natures, without mixture, change, division, or separation; the difference of natures not being removed by their union, but rather, the propriety of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one aspect and one person,"[i] &c.

The acts of the synod of Chalcedon still remain. Its canons of discipline were twenty-eight in number.[k]

SECTION V.

THE SECOND SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The fifth œcumenical synod of 165 bishops, was convened by the Emperor Justinian[l] in 553 to determine the controversy

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[h] Harduin. Conc. ii. 691—768.

[i] Definitio Fidei apud Routh, Opuscula, p. 425.

[k] Routh, p. 401, &c.

[l] Fleury, liv. xxxiii. s. 43. See Natalis Alexander, sæc. vi. Dissert. 3. De V synodi convocatione, præside, auctoritate.

concerning the three chapters, or certain writings of Theodorus, Ibas, and Theodoret, which supported the Nestorian heresy. This synod received and confirmed the decrees of the four first œcumenical councils, and condemned the person and writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia; the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against the twelve chapters of St. Cyril of Alexandria, against the council of Ephesus, and in defence of Theodore and Nestorius; and the impious letter said to be written by Ibas to Maris the Persian, in which he denied that the Word became incarnate and was made man of the Virgin Mary, charged St. Cyril with heresy, accused the council of Ephesus of deposing Nestorius without examination, and defended Theodorus and Nestorius, and their impious writings. The synod also added fourteen anathemas against these and other Nestorian errors.[m] It appears then that this synod is to be viewed as a supplement of the third; both being engaged in establishing the orthodox faith against the same errors.

It was received generally in the East, but some of the Western bishops in Africa, Tuscany, Illyricum, and Liguria, rejected it at first, under the persuasion that its condemnation of the writings of Theodoret and Ibas was derogatory to the synod of Chalcedon, in which those prelates had been received as orthodox. However, the greater part of them soon concurred with the majority of the catholic church in acknowledging the synod as œcumenical; and the remainder were viewed as schismatics.

SECTION VI.

THE THIRD SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The sixth œcumenical synod of 170 bishops, was assembled

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[m] Collatio viii. Harduin. Concil. t. iii. p. 188—202; Fleury, liv. xxxiii. s. 50; see Nat. Alex. sæc. vi. Diss. 4. in proof of the justice of the sentence against the three Chapters.

by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus,[n] in 680, to terminate the divisions in the church which had been caused by the heresy of the Monothelites, who held that in our Lord Jesus Christ, after the union of the divine and human natures, there was but one will and one operation. This error evidently was connected with the Eutychian heresy condemned by the fourth œcumenical council, and like it, was inconsistent with the revealed doctrine of the co-existence of the divine and human natures perfect and distinct, in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. The synod of Constantinople having fully examined the controversy, published a definition of faith, in which they received the preceding five œcumenical synods, and the Creeds of Nice and Constantinople; condemned the authors and supporters of the Monothelite heresy, viz. Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter of Constantinople, Honorius, bishop of Rome, Cyrus of Alexandria, Macarius, and Stephen; approved the synodical letters of pope Agatho and a synod of 125 bishops assembled at Rome from Italy, France, and Britain; and in conclusion declared that in Christ are two natural wills, and two natural operations, without division, conversion, or confusion.[o] The decree of this synod was universally received and approved in the catholic church.

The acts of the sixth œcumenical synod are still extant.

These are the only synods which the universal church has ever received and approved as œcumenical. The decrees of other synods, called œcumenical or general, are of very inferior authority, as will be presently shown.

The doctrine of these genuine œcumenical synods, having been approved and acted on by the whole body of the catholic church, and thus ratified by a universal consent, which has

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[n] Fleury, liv. xl. s. 10. Nat. Alex. sæc. vii. Diss. 1.

[o] Actio xviii. Definitio Fidei.—Harduin. Conc. iii. p. 1395—1402 The general tenor of the two Epistles of Agatho and the Roman synod, which taught the doctrine of two wills and two operations, was entirely approved by the bishops.—Harduin. iii. 1158.

continued ever since: this doctrine is, according to the principles laid down in Chapter IV., irrefragably true, unalterable, irreformable; nor could any particular church forsake or change this doctrine without ceasing to be Christian.

CHAPTER X.

COUNCILS IMPROPERLY STYLED ŒCUMENICAL, HELD BEFORE A.D. 1054.

I AM now to speak of various synods sometimes styled œcumenical, and held before the year 1054, when the existing divisions between the Eastern and Western churches commenced. Of these synods some are simply deficient in authority, others are to be rejected, as unjust, or injurious to the catholic faith.

SECTION I.

THE SYNOD OF SARDICA.

The synod of Sardica was assembled in 347, by the emperors Constantius and Constans,[a] to re-establish the union of the Eastern and Western churches, which had been disturbed by the violent proceedings of the Arianparty, who had expelled from their sees St. Athanasius, and other orthodox bishops. This synod, which consisted of 100 bishops of the western provinces (the oriental bishops under the influence of the Arians, having retired from it), restored St. Athanasius and the orthodox bishops to their sees, confirmed the Nicene creed,[b] and made several canons of discipline, in one of which they conferred on the Roman bishop the privilege of desiring a rehearing of the causes of bishops condemned by their provincial synods.[c] This novel privilege, however, did not take

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[a] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 20.

[b] Socrates, ibid.

[c] Canons iii. iv. v.

effect until some centuries afterwards.[d] This synod was orthodox and always approved by the church, but as it made no new definition in faith, so it was never accounted an œcumenical synod, nor esteemed of the same authority as the synods of Nice, Constantinople, &c.

SECTION II.

THE SYNOD OF ARIMINUM, AND ARIANISM.

The questions concerning the synod of Ariminum are of the highest importance in controversies concerning church authority. Those who are desirous of overthrowing that authority, affirm that the synod of Ariminum apostatized to Arianism, and that the whole church fell along with it. I maintain that neither the one nor the other fell into the Arian heresy, or decided in its favour.

The Arian party, which at first only existed in the east, did not for many years dare to assail the Nicene faith to which they had subscribed; but persecuted on various false pretences, its sincere defenders.[e] Arian bishops were unlawfully intruded into several of the Eastern sees, and thus the heresy gained ground among the chief rulers of the church; while the great body of the faithful remained attached to the truth. The West was sound in faith; synods at Rome 341, Milan 346, and Sardica 347, confirmed the catholic faith, and restored to his see the holy confessor Athanasius, who had been unlawfully expelled by the Arians with the aid of the emperor. Their example was followed by the synod of Syria and Palestine, under Maximus, archbishop of Jerusalem.[f] Ursacius and Valens, Arian bishops, had even openly renounced their heresy.[g]

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[d] See Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. ii. s. 3, 4.

[e] Socrates, i. 23, 24. 32. 35, 36; ii. 7.

[f] Socrates, ii. 24. [g] Ibid. 12.

and been received into communion by the Western bishops assembled at Milan.[h]

The emperor Constantius designed to convene an œcumenical synod to terminate the existing controversies in a manner favourable to Arianism; but considering the difficulty of assembling the bishops in one place, he ordered the Eastern bishops to meet at Seleucia in Isauria, and the Western at Ariminum.[i] The synod of Seleucia was divided in sentiments, and the semi-Arians, who formed the majority, and whose sentiments were substantially orthodox, approved of a creed made at Antioch, in which the word "*consubstantial*" alone was omitted.[k]

The synod of Ariminum comprised about 400 bishops, only eighty of whom were Arians, headed by Ursacius and Valens, who had again apostatized. These bishops presented to the synod a formulary of faith which had been recently agreed on privately by their party at Sirmium, and required that all former confessions of faith should be abrogated, and this alone be received.[l] The proposed formulary asserted in the strongest terms the divinity of Christ, but prohibited the use of the term which the Nicene fathers had used to designate it. The council however declared that they did not need any new creed, called on Ursacius and Valens to pronounce anathema against Arius, and on their refusal deposed and excommunicated them, and sent deputies to the emperor to notify their decision, and their resolution to maintain the Nicene creed; and to request his protection for the orthodox faith, together with his permission to retire to their respective churches.[m]

The orthodoxy of the synod when acting freely was thus most fully manifested. But Ursacius and Valens having been sent by their party to Constantius, by whom they were received with great distinction; and having returned with orders to the

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[h] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. lii. s. 44.

[i] Socrates, l. ii. c. 37. [k] Ibid. c. 40.

[l] Ibid. l. ii. c. 37; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 17.

[m] Socrates, ut supra.

imperial prefect Taurus not to permit the bishops to depart till they had signed the creed: several of the more obstinately orthodox bishops having also been sent into banishment; and the Arian party having urged that the adoption of the proposed formulary would restore harmony and peace between the Eastern and Western churches;[n] and, in fine, *having anathematized the heresies imputed to them*,[o] and thus deceived the orthodox into a belief that the creed was to be understood in an *orthodox sense*, of which it was perfectly capable: the bishops, worn out by a delay of seven months, and misled by these various motives, received the formulary proposed to them.[p] It does not appear, however, that they annulled the Nicene creed further than by abrogating the use of the word "consubstantial."[q]

It appears plainly from this, that the bishops of the synod of Ariminum were really orthodox in their belief, and that they did not design to approve the Arian heresy. They were indeed deceived, for the Arians, who had *anathematized* their own errors in order to induce the bishops to subscribe a creed which was orthodox in appearance, asserted presently that the creed was to be taken in the Arian sense, and that Arianism had been approved by the council. The bishops of the synod of Ariminum were certainly blameable for permitting themselves to be deceived by the craft and subtilty of the Arians; but the church did not believe them to have designed any sanction of heresy. St. Jerome clears them of the charge of Arianism on several grounds.[r] St. Gregory Nazianzen also excuses many of them

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[n] Sozomen, iv. 17.

[o] Hieronymus, Dial. adv. Lucifer. t. iv. p. 299, 300. ed. Ben.

[p] Sulp. Severus, Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.

[q] Athanasius, Lib. de Synodis, n. 41. t. i. p. 755, observes, that those who merely objected to the use of this word, but really believed the doctrine it was intended by the church to convey, were not to be regarded as enemies or heretics.

[r] Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. t. iv.

from any intentional error.[s] Damasus, bishop of Rome, said that it was through ignorance and simplicity they were deceived,[t] and the synod of Paris testified the same;[u] and Sulpicius Severus attributes it to the ambiguity of the terms employed by the Arians, which deceived the bishops.[v]

The synod of Ariminum, consisting of 400 bishops, was not the universal church, for I have already shown that there were upwards of 2000 episcopal sees in the east and west.[w] Hence, the Arians felt it necessary to procure the subscription of the bishops generally to the creed of Ariminum, before they could pretend that their heresy was sanctioned by the catholic church. Accordingly, the emperor Constantius commanded all bishops to subscribe it; and those who refused were exiled and persecuted.[x] Amongst those who raised their voices against the Arian perfidy, were Liberius of Rome, Vincent of Capua, Gregory of Elvira, the great Athanasius, Hilary of Poictiers, Lucifer of Cagliari. Many bishops subscribed from want of information; others, as St. Athanasius intimates, by a questionable prudence, lest heretical bishops should supersede them in the government of their churches, and corrupt their people.[y] In fine, this subscription of bishops, exacted by *force*, and opposed by many eminent bishops, could not be considered as any real judgment of the universal church in favour of Arianism. It does not appear that the majority of the bishops ever condemned the Nicene doctrine, or received the creed of Ariminum in an Arian sense: and as soon as the perfidy of the Arians was made fully manifest, and the question had been really examined and discussed, the whole church solemnly confirmed again the Nicene faith, rejected the creed of Ariminum, and expelled the Arians from its communion.

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[s] Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 21. t. i. p. 387.

[t] Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. ii. 22.

[u] Fleury, liv. xiv. s. 27.

[v] Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.

[w] See above, Vol. I. p. 198, &c.

[x] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. ii. 37; Sozomen. iv. 17.

[y] Athanasii Epistola ad Rufinianum, p. 964. ed. Ben.

Hilary of Poictiers, having returned to Gaul from his exile, about 360, held many synods in that country to extirpate Arianism and annul the proceedings at Ariminum.[z] The synod of Paris shortly after revoked what had been done there through ignorance; excommunicated the Arian leaders, and transmitted their resolutions to the Eastern bishops.[a] Hilary even passed into Italy, where the bishops assembled in synod, and annulled the synod of Ariminum.[b] At the same time another synod at Alexandria confirmed the Nicene faith.[c] In 363, only three years after the synod of Ariminum, Athanasius testified that the Nicene faith was received by the churches of Spain, Britain, Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mysia, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Syria, Isauria, Egypt, Lybia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the East.[d] In the same year, a synod of Eastern bishops at Antioch proposed the Nicene creed as the faith of the church.[e] Synods of semi-Arians in Smyrna, Pamphylia, Isauria, and Lycia, acknowledged and received it.[f] Synods in quick succession in Asia, Cappadocia, Sicily, Illyricum,[g] &c. confirmed the catholic faith. So that it is plain that the universal church had not approved the Arian heresy, though many bishops had either fallen for a time, or been deceived by their crafty opponents into an apparent sanction of their errors.

So strong was the attachment of the Christian community at all times to the original and apostolical doctrine of the proper divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the Arians who were intruded into bishoprics, were obliged almost always to employ language on the subject, which in its simple obvious meaning conveyed the orthodox doctrine. St. Hilary of Poictiers, in

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[z] Socrates, iii. 10; Sozomen. v. 13; Sulp. Severus, Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.
[a] Harduin. Concilia, t. i. p. 727.
[b] Fleury, liv. xv. s. 30. [c] Ibid. s. 26.
[d] Athanas. Epist. ad Imper. Jov. t. i. Oper. p. 781.
[e] Harduin. t. i. p. 742. [f] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 12.
[g] Sozomen. lib. v. c. 11, 12. Theodoret. iv. 9.

describing the arts of these men, says: "They attribute the name of 'God' to Christ, because it is also given to *men:* they acknowledge 'the son of God,' because *every one* is made 'a son of God,' by baptism: they confess that he 'was before all times and ages,' because the same cannot be denied even of angels and the devil. Thus they attribute to Christ our Lord only that which may be attributed to angels or to ourselves: but what rightly and truly belongs to Christ as God, that is, 'that Christ is the true God,' or, 'that the Godhead of the Son is the same as that of the Father,' is denied. And through this impious fraud it is that even now, the people of Christ do not perish beneath the priests of Antichrist; since they believe that what is avowed merely verbally, is to be really believed. They hear of 'Christ the God:' they suppose him to be so. They hear him called 'the Son of God,' they suppose that in the generation of God is inferred the reality of the Godhead: they hear 'before time:' they suppose that before time is eternity. More holy are the ears of the people than the hearts of the bishops."[h] Even when Arianism was most prosperous, Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, thus addressed the emperor Constantius: "If thou couldst in a short time traverse all nations, thou wouldst find Christians every where to believe as we do . . . Thy new preaching not only cannot as yet pass the Roman border, though thy efforts are certainly sufficiently great; but even wherever it endeavoured to fix its roots, it has withered away."[i]

Bishop Bull observes, that "in the time of Constantius, and somewhat after, many persons, chiefly in the east, received the Arians to communion; but very few comparatively embraced Arianism itself. For those most false men, except when they had a fitting auditory, *concealed their impious doctrines*, and professed their faith almost always in language which apparently conveyed the ancient and catholic doctrine: and hence it occurred, that they were generally held and acknowledged as

[h] Hilar. Pictav. Lib. cont. Auxent. p. 1266. ed. Benedict.

[i] Lucifer. Calar. Quod moriendum sit pro Filio Dei.—Bibl. Patr. t. iv p. 1266.

catholics, even by those who heartily detested their genuine doctrines."[k]

We may conclude, therefore, that neither the synod of Ariminum, nor the catholic church apostatized to the Arian heresy, or even sanctioned or tolerated it.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Gregory Nazianzen says, that, except a few, "all the bishops went with the times, and the only difference between them was, that some fell sooner, and others later into the fraud."[l]

Answer. He does not mean that they really fell into the Arian heresy; but that they yielded successively to threats or artifices, so as to afford an apparent sanction to it. Besides, they did not fall at once, so that the truth had always defenders.

II. Hilary says: "The danger of the oriental churches is so great, that it is rare to find either bishops or people of the catholic faith. . . . Except the bishop Eleusius, and a few with him, the ten provinces of Asia, in which I dwell, for the most part really know not God. Every where there are scandals, schisms, perfidies."[m]

Answer. This relates solely to the provinces of the Asiatic diocese, which were peculiarly infected with Arianism: but St. Hilary himself testifies (as we have seen above) that the faith was preserved even under Arian bishops: and in the synod of Seleucia, held shortly after, it appears that out of 150 bishops, there were but 37 real Arians.[n] The remainder, soon after, adopted the Nicene creed.

III. Jerome says, with reference to the synod of Ariminum: "Then it was proclaimed that the Nicene faith was con-

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[k] Bull, Defensio Fid. Nicæn.—Works by Burton, vol. v. p. 804.

[l] Gregor. Naz. Orat. 21. t. i.

[m] Hilar. Pictav. Lib. de Synodis, n. 63. p. 1186.

[n] Sozomen. iv. 22.

demned, and the whole world groaned, and wondered to find itself Arian."[o]

Answer. He means that the Arians pretended falsely that the Nicene faith had been condemned by the synod: and the very wonder of all the church to find Arianism imputed to themselves, proves that they were not really of Arian sentiments. St. Jerome proves in the same work, that the fathers of Ariminum were deceived, and that they did not act heretically.

IV. St. Augustine says: "Who is ignorant that many persons of small understanding were at that time deluded by ambiguous words, to suppose that the Arians believed as they themselves did: and that others yielded to fear, and gave a feigned consent . . . . those who were then most firm, and who were able to understand the insidious words of the heretics, were few indeed in comparison of the rest: but yet even they, some of them, bravely went into exile, others lay in concealment throughout the world."[p] Therefore the majority adopted the Arian heresy.

Answer. St. Augustine says that they were *deceived*, or that they *pretended* to agree. In either case they did not fall into heresy, but into infirmity or sin.

V. Vincentius Lirinensis says: "When the poison of the Arians had contaminated not merely a small portion, but almost the whole world; so that, nearly all the Latin bishops being *deceived*, partly by force, partly by fraud, a sort of darkness fell over the minds of men, as to what was to be especially followed, in circumstances of such great confusion: then, whoever was a true lover and worshipper of Christ, by preferring the ancient faith to the novel perfidy, escaped the defilement of that contagion."[q] Therefore, the church approved Arianism.

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[o] Hier. Dial. adv. Lucifer. t. iv. pars ii. p. 300.

[p] August. Ep. ad Vincent. Rogatist. c. ix. n. 31. t. ii. p. 244.

[q] Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.

Answer. Vincentius says the bishops were *deceived*, he does not affirm that they really adopted Arianism. The obscurity which fell on the minds of men at the time of the synod of Ariminum, arose from the temporary appearance of contradiction between the church's judgment then, and at the synod of Nice; and during such a temporary difficulty the faithful would of course follow the light of ancient tradition. A very short time, however, sufficed to show that the church had really never contradicted herself; and the Nicene faith was acknowledged to be the divine, the eternal, the unchangeable truth of Christianity.

SECTION III.

THE LATROCINIUM OF EPHESUS.

This synod was assembled by the emperor Theodosius, in 449, and consisted of 130 bishops. St. Leo of Rome sent his legates, and Dioscorus of Alexandria presided.[r] In this synod the heretic Eutyches was absolved from the censure of a synod at Constantinople; and Flavianus who had condemned him was deposed, and treated with such violence, that the synod for this, and its other irregular proceedings, was styled the Latrocinium. No decree in faith was made here, and the synod was immediately rejected and annulled by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon, and by the universal church.

SECTION IV.

THE SYNODS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND NICE IN THE QUESTION OF IMAGES.

The synod of Constantinople was assembled by the emperor

[r] The acts of this synod are found among those of the fourth œcumenical synod.

Constantine Copronymus,[s] in 754, to suppress the use of images. It consisted of 338 oriental bishops, and assumed the title of œcumenical. The patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, took no part in it. The use of images had been already prohibited by the emperors Leo[t] and Constantine Caballinus.[u] The iconoclast party, in their zeal to prevent an idolatrous use of images, which had arisen in later times, and which was contrary to the intention of the catholic church; blamed the use of all images in such terms as implied a condemnation of the ancient practice of the universal church in permitting the use of pictures, and a charge of heresy and idolatry against all who retained them.[v] This was an uncharitable and censurable proceeding; and hence, it is not to be wondered at, that the Western church, which permitted images, but prohibited any bowing or other worship to them, rejected the synod of Constantinople, and never accounted it œcumenical.

The synod of Nice was assembled in 787 by the empress Irene, to reverse the decrees of Constantinople. It consisted of 350 oriental bishops, and was attended by the legates of pope Hadrian.[w] In this synod the judgment formerly made against images was condemned, and their worship was established in the following terms: "We define . . . that like the image of the precious and life-giving cross, the venerable and holy images be set up . . . for according as they are continually seen by image representation, so they who behold them are excited to remember and to love the prototypes, and to pay these images salutation and respectful honour: not indeed that true worship, which is according to our faith, which only befits the

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[s] The acts of this synod are extant among those of the second Nicene synod.—Harduin. Conc. t. iv. p. 327, &c.

[t] Fleury, liv. xlii. s. 1. 5.

[u] Goldastus, Imperialia Decreta de cultu imaginum, p. 19.

[v] Harduin. Conc. t. iv. p. 355, &c. 426, &c.

[w] Fleury, liv xliv. s. 29.

divine nature . . . but to offer incense and lights to their honour, as has been piously ordained by the ancients."[x]

The decree of this synod was not universally received in the east, and did not terminate the controversy ; the iconoclasts having the preceding decree at Constantinople in their favour. Considered in itself, this synod was fully equal in authority to that of Nice ; while both were alike rejected by the Western church ; and hence, though the party who adhered to the council of Nice, obtained a temporary predominance by the aid of the empress Irene, who enforced its decree with the strong arm of the law, the party who rejected the use of images did not cease their opposition,[y] and in 815 another council assembled at Constantinople, confirmed the former synod held at the same place, and anathematized the synod of Nice ;[z] which from this period till 842, a space of nearly thirty years, remained rejected by the emperors and a large part of the eastern church. At the latter epoch its decree was again restored by another council.[a] It is not to be inferred from this, however, that it was yet received as an œcumenical council even by its advocates : in 863 it was still not reckoned as such in any of the eastern churches, except Constantinople and its dependencies ; as we find by a letter addressed by Photius in that year to the

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[x] Act. vii. Harduin. Concil. t. iv. p. 456.

[y] Du Pin, Eccl. Hist. Cent. viii. c. 3, says that the Emperor Constantine, whose reign ended only ten years after the council, abrogated it. The Emperor Nicephorus, who succeeded in 802, deprived the defenders of image worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries. Goldastus, in his "Imperiala Decreta," cites the following decrees of the eastern Emperors against images after the pseudo-synod. An edict of Leo IV. in 814, commanding them to be destroyed, p. 604. An edict of Theophilus in 830, against image worshippers, p. 758. Another edict in 832, against the same, p. 760.

[z] Fleury, liv. xlvi. s. 17. Theodore Studita says, that all except a few fell away. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 15. Ed. Sirmond. See Baronii Annal. ad an. 814.

[a] Fleury, liv. xlviii. s. 6.

patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, in which he intimates, that, though the synod of Nice was held in great reverence, yet it was not reckoned among the œcumenical councils; which, he argued, it ought to be.[b] What may have been the effect of this exhortation we know not, but in a great council held under Photius in 879, it was recognized as "the seventh œcumenical synod." It has been latterly admitted as œcumenical in the Eastern church,[c] but the facts are undeniable, that, for a space of sixty years, the decree of Nice was not *approved* by the east; that for ninety years at least it was not generally admitted to be *œcumenical;* and, in fine, even in the time of Barlaam, abbot of St. Saviour, (A.D. 1339,) nearly six hundred years after its celebration, some of the orientals still reckoned only *six* general councils,[d] thus denying the authority of this synod.

Let us now turn to the west. It is a matter of certainty that (with the exception of the Roman see which always sup-

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[b] "Fama enim et rumor quidam ad nos pervenit, quod nullæ ecclesiæ earum quæ vestræ apostolicæ subjiciuntur sedi, usque ad sextam generalem synodum annumerantes, septimam præter eas nos agnoscunt, licet ea quæ in ipsa sunt decreta, magnam habeant venerationem."—Baronii Annales ad an. 863.

[c] See Acta et Scripta Theolog. Witeberg. et Patr. Hieremiæ, p. 56. 255; Methodii Archiepisc. Twer. Liber. Hist. p. 173; Summary of Christian divinity by Plato, archbishop of Moscow, published by Pinkerton in his "Present state of the Greek Church."

[d] Barlaam, Abbot of St. Saviour, was sent by Andronicus, emperor of Constantinople, to Benedict XII. in 1339, to treat of the union of the eastern and western churches. He said to the Pope: "Quis ergo est modus, qui et plebem et sapientes simul adducet ad unionem vestram? Ego dicam. Audiendo communis populus, quod *sexies factum est generale concilium*, et quoties factum est, ad pefectionem ecclesiæ factum est, et ad correctionem errorum, qui erant in illis temporibus; opinionem receperunt omnes ad animas suas, quia quod sit determinatum a generali concilio, rectum et sanum est," &c. Leo Allatius, De Perpet. Consens. p. 790; Raynald. Annales, an. 1339. n. 21; Bzovii Annal. Eccl. an. 1339. c. xxiv.

ported and approved it,) the churches of the west generally condemned and rejected the synod of Nice as illegitimate. Roman theologians have endeavoured to account for this conduct by supposing that the western churches were misled by an erroneous translation of the acts of the council, which they deemed, prescribed divine worship or latria as due to images; but that their doubts immediately vanished when its acts were accurately translated and when they knew that it was confirmed by the Roman pontiff.[a]

A statement of facts will afford a conclusive reply to this. The acts of the synod of Nice having been sent to Rome in the year 787, Pope Hadrian himself, according to Hincmar,[b] transmitted them into France to Charlemagne, to be confirmed by the bishops of his kingdom; and the emperor also received the acts directly from Constantinople, according to Roger Hovedon. These prelates, thus furnished with an authentic copy, and not a more translation, composed a reply to the synod, in which they absolutely condemned any adoration or worship of images. "We object," they said, "to nothing about images but their *adoration*, for we allow the images of the saints in the churches; not to *adore* them, but for historical remembrance, and ornament to the walls."[c] They did not attribute to the synod of Nice itself the open avowal that divine worship or latria was due to images, though they did, through a mis-translation, attribute this error to Constantine of Cyprus, a bishop of the synod;[d] but they distinctly rejected every act and kind of wor-

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[a] Strange is the mistake of Delahogue, "Sensum (Actorum) non apprimè percipientes errore facti crediderunt in illis *reprobari* imaginum cultum."—De Eccl. p. 177. See, for much valuable information concerning this synod, Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. xxiii. c. 5.

[b] Cited below in note (i), p. 195.

[c] "Dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus præter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis sanctorum imagines, non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus."—Carol. Mag. adv. Imag. lib. iii. c. 16.

[d] Ibid. c. 17, 18.

ship as paid to images. They prohibited "service," "adoration," "honour exhibited by bending the neck or bowing the head," "the oblation of incense and lights."[e] In fact, as the learned Benedictine Mabillon allows, "the Gallican bishops admitted no worship whatever, whether positive or relative, to be given to images;"[f] and one of their reasons for this was that it was impossible practically that the honour paid to the image should pass to, and be paid to the original. "For," they say, "though what the Greeks do in adoring images, may be avoided by all learned persons, who venerate not what they are, but what they represent; yet they are a cause of offence to all the unlearned, who venerate and adore in them nothing else but what they see."[g]

This work was published by the authority and in the name

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[e] They rejected, "colla deflectere," (lib. ii. c. 1), "thuris et luminaribus honorem," (ib. c. 2), "observationem, adorationem," (ib. c. 27), "servitium, obsequium," (lib. iii. c. 18), as applied to images.

[f] He observes that the author of the Caroline books, the synod of Paris, and Agobard, object to *all adoration* of images. Jonas of Orleans rejects their worship, but without any charge of idolatry. Walafrid Strabo, and Dungalus the monk, teach that they are to be loved and honoured.—"Ex iis quæ hucusque dicta sunt, intelligimus quænam fuit Gallorum sententia de cultu imaginum; et qua ratione explicari debeat honos ille divinus, quem Scriptor Carolinus, libellus Synodi Parisiensis, Agobardus, et Jonas, picturis sacris abrogant. Nempe sentiebant Galli imagines honore *moderato* coli posse, eas scilicet *decenti in loco collocando, ornando, curandoque ut quam maxime niterent et ne pulvere sordibusve inficerentur.*" Mabill. Act. SS. Benedict. sæc. 4. Præfat. p. xxiv. This honour no one could with reason object to, if experience had not shewn its great liability to abuse.

[g] "Etsi a doctis quibusque vitari possit hoc quod illi in adorandis imaginibus exercent, qui videlicet non quid sint, sed quid innuant, venerantur; indoctis tamen quibusque scandalum generant, qui nihil aliud in his præter id quod vident, venerantur et adorant. Unde cavendum est ne evangelicam sententiam subeant, qui tot pusillos ad scandalizandum impellant . . . qui pene omnem Christi ecclesiam aut ad imagines adorandas impellit, aut imaginum adorationem spernentes anathemati submittit." Car. Mag. adv. Imag. lib. iii. c. 6.

of the Emperor Charlemagne, and with the consent of his bishops in 790. Pope Hadrian composed a reply, in which he maintained the decision of the Nicene Synod; but, though the Gallican bishops must by this time have been well aware that the pope had *approved* it; their opinion remained unchanged. Charlemagne had received at least one copy of the *authentic acts direct from Constantinople*, which he transmitted to the bishops of England in 792, requesting their judgment on them. These prelates, abhorring the worship of images, authorized Albinus to convey in their name a refutation of the synod of Nice to Charlemagne.[h]

At length, after due deliberation, and with the fullest means of ascertaining the truth, by a controversy continued for seven or eight years, the bishops of the west, to the number of 300, from Gaul, Aquitain, Germany, and Italy, assembled at Frankfort, at the desire of Charlemagne, in 794; and there formally and synodically annulled and rejected the council of the Greeks, declaring that it was not to be acknowledged *as the seventh general council.*[i] The synod of Frankfort does

[h] Roger Hovedon, who lived about A.D. 1204, says, ad an. 792: "Carolus Rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu proh dolor) multa inconvenientia, et veræ fidei contraria repericbantur; maxime, quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo amplius, episcoporum, unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit, imagines adorari debere; quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex authoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam; illamque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum regi Francorum attulit."

[i] "Septima autem apud Græcos, vocata universalis, pseudo-synodus de imaginibus, quas quidem confringendas, quidam autem adorandas dicebant . . . . . non longe ante tempora nostra Constantinopoli est a quamplurimis episcopis habita, et Romam missa. Quam etiam Papa Romanus in Franciam direxit; unde tempore Caroli Magni Imperatoris, jussione Apostolicæ sedis, generalis est synodus in Francia, convocante præfato Imperatore, celebrata; et secundum scripturarum tramitem traditionemque majorum, ipsa Græcorum pseudo-synodus destructa est et penitus abrogata." Hincmar. Rem. Opusc. lv. c. xx. contra Hincm. Laudun. N. B. This synod of Nice *commenced* at Constantinople.

not affirm that the Nicene convention actually enjoined the same honour to be given to images as to the Trinity; but that this principle was contained in the acts of that convention, being avowed by one of its bishops.

Perhaps it may be imagined that this proceeding of the western church was rescinded, or in some way speedily relinquished. The learned Du Pin says: "the French and Germans persisted in their custom a long time, and did not acknowledge till very late the council of Nice, instead of which they put that of Frankfort."[k] In proof of this it appears that in 824, (thirty years afterwards,) the Gallican bishops and divines assembled at Paris, agreed in condemning again the doctrine of the Nicene synod, and the epistle of Pope Hadrian in favour of image worship.[l]

But what is still more remarkable is, that even the *Roman pontiffs* themselves, though they always received and strenuously defended the synod of Nice, did not for a long time include it in the number of *œcumenical* synods. In 859, Pope Nicholas I. in his reply to a letter of Ado, bishop of Vienne, asking the pallium, requires his assent only to six general councils — omitting that of Nice:[m] and, lest it should be alleged that this arose merely from that Pope's toleration of the error of the Franks who rejected that council; in the year 863 or 866, he held a synod at Rome, and in the decree against Photius there unanimously made, six general councils only are again acknowledged; excluding as before, the synod of Nice.[n] In this case there can be no conceivable reason for such an omission, except

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k Du Pin, Eccl. Hist. Cent. viii. c. 3. Launoius, Epist. Pars viii. Epist. ix. says of the writers of the Western church, "Septimam enim synodum veteres, et cum primis Galli, pro œcumenica non habuerunt."

l See the Acts of this synod in Goldastus, Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imag. p. 626, &c.

m "Et sub omni celeritate dirigatis, qualiter vos de ipsis *quinta* et *sexta* synodis sentiatis."

n "Venerandorum *sex* universalium conciliorum auctoritate." Nicolaus P. Ep. ad Imp. Michael. Harduin. Conc. t. v. p. 138. Baronius, ad an 863.

that the church of Rome did not at this period reckon it among the general synods. Even in 871, Pope Hadrian, in a letter to the Emperor Charles the Bald, still only speaks of six general councils,[o] though before this time the *eighth*, (as it has since been styled by the Romans,) had been approved and confirmed by that Pope. At length, however, the church of Rome held the synod of Nice to be the seventh œcumenical synod, as appears from Cardinal Humbert's excommunication of Cerularius, A. D. 1054.[p]

The several chronicles of France and Germany during the ninth and following centuries, uniformly speak of it as a "pseudo-synod." The Annales Francorum, written A. D. 808, say, that at the synod of Frankfort, "the pseudo-synod of the Greeks, which they falsely called the seventh, and which they had made in order to sanction the adoration of images, was rejected by the bishops."[q] It is also termed "pseudo-synod" in the Annales Francorum, continued to 814,[r] and in the anonymous life of Charlemagne written after 814;[s] and is condemned in the annals written after 819.[t] Eginhard, in his Annales Francorum, written in 829, says that at Frankfort, "the synod which had been called by the Greeks not only the seventh, but universal, was entirely annulled by all, as of no force; that it might neither be held nor spoken of as universal."[u] In 824, the Gallican

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[o] "Sed de his nihil audemus judicare, quod possit Nicæno Concilio, et *quinque cæterorum* conciliorum regulis, vel decretis nostrorum antecessorum obviare." Hadr. P. Ep. xxxiv. ad Carolum Calvum.

[p] Canisii Thesaurus, t. iii. p. 327.

[q] "Pseudo-synodus Græcorum, quam falsò septimam vocabant pro adorandis imaginibus fecerant, rejecta est a pontificibus."—Annal. Francorum, Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Script. t. ii. p. 17.

[r] Du Chesne, ibid. p. 38. [s] Ibid. p. 57. [t] Ibid. t. iii. p. 141.

[u] "Synodus etiam, quæ ante paucos annos in Const. sub Irene et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non solum septima, verum etiam universalis erat appellata; ut nec septima nec universalis haberetur diceretur, quasi supervacua, in totam ab omnibus abdicata est." — Eginhard. Annal. Franc. Du Chesne, t. ii. p. 247.

bishops again condemned it at Paris.[v] Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, about 870, speaks of the "pseudo-synod" of Nice as entirely destroyed and annulled by a general synod in France.[w] Ado, bishop of Vienne, who died 875, in his chronicle speaks of the "pseudo-synod," which the Greeks call the seventh.[x] Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church, translated the synod of Nice into Latin, when he was at the (so called) "eighth general synod," A. D. 870; and, in his preface to it, observes that the French did not approve the worship of images.[y] The chronicles of the monastery of S. Bertinus, written after 884, speak of the synod of Constantinople 870, in which that of Nice was approved, and the worship of images authorized, as "ordaining things concerning the adoration of images contrary to the definitions of the orthodox doctors,"[z] &c. The Annales Francorum, written in the abbey of Fulda after the year 900, speak of the synod of Nice as "a pseudo-synod of the Greeks, falsely called the seventh."[a] Regino, abbot of Prum, A.D. 910, calls it "a pseudo-synod."[b] The chronicle of S. Bertinus,

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[v] Harduini Concil. t. iv. p. 1258. Goldastus, Imp. Decr.

[w] "Septima autem apud Græcos vocata universalis *pseudo-synodus* de imaginibus, quas quidam confringendas, quidam autem adorandas dicebant."—Hincmar. in Opusculo, lv. c. 20. Contra Hincmar. Laudun. See p. 195.

[x] Ado Vien. Chronic. Ætat. vi. "psuedo-synodus, quam septimam Græci appellant."

[y] Anastas. Biblioth. Præfat. in VII. Synod. Harduin. Concil. t. iii. p. 20.

[z] "Et synodo congregata, quam octavam universalem synodum illuc convenientes appellaverunt, exortum schisma de Ignatii depositione et Focii ordinatione sedaverunt: Focium anathematizantes, et Ignatium restituentes. In qua synodo de imaginibus adorandis aliter quam orthodoxi doctores antea diffinierant, et pro favore Romani Pontificis, qui eorum votis de imaginibus annuit; et quædam contra antiquos canones, sed et contra suam ipsam synodum constituerunt, sicut qui eandem synodum legerit patenter inveniet."—Annales Bertin. Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. t. iii. p. 244.

[a] Annal. Franc. Fuldenses, Du Chesne, t. ii. p. 538.

[b] Cited by Dorschæus, Collat. ad Concil. Francoford. Argentor. 1619. p. 8.

written in the tenth century by Folquinus, a learned monk, speaks of the "*seventh* synod of Constantinople of 384 bishops;"[c] (a synod held under Photius in 879, and not acknowledged as œcumenical by the universal church;) shewing that the synod of Nice was not yet considered the seventh œcumenical council. In 1025, Gerhard, bishop of Cambray, in a synod held there, taught the doctrine of the western church, that the church does not use images *to be adored*, but to excite us to contemplate inwardly the operations of divine grace, &c.[d] Hermannus Contractus, A. D. 1054, speaks of the council of Nice as a "pseudo-synod."[e] The author who continued Aimon's books de Gestis Francorum to the year 1165, reprobated the (so called) eighth synod which approved the doctrine of this Nicene synod.[f] Nicetas Choniates says that when the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, after the year 1190, entered Philippopolis on the crusade, the Armenians alone remained there, because they agreed in the principal points of religion with the Germans, and *the adoration of images was forbidden* in the two nations.[g] Roger Hovedon, A.D. 1204, says that in the synod of Nice were found "many things inconvenient and contrary to the true faith; chiefly that it was confirmed, that *images ought to be adored, which the church of God altogether execrates*."[h] Conrade à Lictenau, abbot of Urspurg, about 1230, speaks of the synod of Nice as being rejected by the bishops at Frankfort, and as not being the seventh general synod.[i] Albertus Staden-

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[c] Martene and Durand, Anecdota, t. iii. p. 527. The note of Martene is: "Pseudo-synodus Photiana *octava* et generalis falsò a multis nominata."

[d] "Ideo in sancta ecclesia fiunt, non ut ab hominibus adorari debeant, sed ut per eas interius excitemur ad contemplandam gratiæ divinæ operationem, atque ex eorum actibus aliquid in usum nostræ conversationis trahamus."—Synod. Atrebat. c. xiv. Spicileg. t. i. p. 622.

[e] Cited by Dorschæus, ut supra.

[f] De Gestis Francorum, lib. v. c. 28.

[g] Ἀρμενίοις γὰρ καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται. —Nicetas Choniates, Annales Isaac. Angel. lib. ii. p. 258. Ed. Paris. 1647.

See above, note (b), p. 195.

[i] See Dorschæus, ut supra.

sis, about 1260, mentions its rejection by the great synod of Frankfort.[k] Matthew of Westminster, about 1375, employs nearly the same language as Roger Hovedon.[l]

I shall not pursue this investigation further, having now proved that for at least *five centuries and a half*, the council of Nice remained rejected in the western church; which amounts to a demonstration that it is not to be viewed as a legitimate œcumenical council, possessed of the same authority as those *six* which the church has always venerated: for had the Roman see and the East considered it as such, they would not have remained, as they did, in full communion with those who rejected it.[m] In fact, the doctrine of the adoration of images was never received in the West, except where the influence of the Roman see was predominant; and hence it is, that even to this day France and Germany are less infected with superstition in this respect than Italy. A modern French theologian explains the worship of images to "consist *principally* in their being *placed decently and honourably in the churches*, to the memory and honour of those whom they represent."[n] This is precisely the doctrine held by the western church in opposition to the synod of Nice.

It is not disputed that in later ages, many private theologians, even in France, began to speak of it as the seventh general council; but this was merely their private opinion, and can have no authority. It arose from three causes: first, from exaggerated notions of the authority of the Roman see, which had

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[k] "Magna synodus est collecta et legati Adriani papæ adfuerunt. . . . Synodus etiam quæ ante paucos annos ab Irene et Constantino filio ejus septima et universalis dicta est, quasi supervacua est ab omnibus abdicata." —Albertus Stadensis Chronicon, ad an. 794.

[l] Matthæi Westmonaster. Flores Historiarum, ad an. 793. p. 283. Ed. 1570.

[m] Bossuet admits that communion existed.—Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. vii. c. 31.

[n] Collet, Theologia Scholastica, t. i. p. 635.

been accustomed to admit this as a general council: secondly, from its being included among the general councils by Gratian in his "Decretum," or compilation of canons, completed in 1150, and which was immediately received as a text-book in all the universities of Europe :[o] thirdly, from a cause alluded to by the learned Launoy, who having observed and proved that all the ancient Latin writers, and especially those of France, did not hold it as œcumenical, says: "In later ages the Gallican writers, as occasion offered, held the seventh synod to be universal and œcumenical. The reason why they did so, in my opinion, was, that the *worship of holy images decreed* by that synod pleased them. Therefore they admit it, and hold that Hadrian the First presided in it by his vicars."[p] As super-

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[o] The modern canon law was first reduced to a system, in the "Decretum" of Gratian, who included in his collection all the spurious decretals, and a number of other unauthentic pieces. Long before the end of the century, the Decretum was taught with great applause and profit in the Universities of Bologna, Oxford, Paris, Orleans, and many others. It became the fashionable study; and led the way to the highest honours. In the fourteenth century it is said, that almost the whole multitude of scholars applied to this study, (R. Holcot apud Ant. Wood, lib. i. p. 160,) and with so much eagerness, that Matthew Paris (Hist. Angl. an. 1254) says, they neglected the languages and philosophy. Alexander of Hales, and other schoolmen, commonly cite the canon law as a sufficient proof of doctrine. Stephen, bishop of Tournay from 1192 to 1203, in his epistles, part iii. ep. 251, (cited by Du Pin,) complains to the Pope, that the study of the *Fathers* was neglected, in order to follow the study of scholastic divines, and the decrees or canon laws. Pope Innocent IV. was obliged to publish a bull to prevent the clergy from neglecting philosophy and theology, and to prevent bishops from appointing to benefices and dignities, those who were only skilled in canon laws. (Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris, t. iii. p. 265.) See Fleury, Discours iv. v. sur l'Hist. Eccl.; and Hist. Eccl. liv. 70. s. 28, for further observations on the authority of the canon law in the middle ages. It is not to be wondered at, that, when the Scriptures and the Fathers were, in some degree, superseded by such studies, several erroneous opinions should have become common.

[p] Launoii Epistolæ, pars viii. ep. 9.

stition increased, even the synod of Nice began to find advocates; and it was styled general by the synod of Constance: but since this latter is itself of doubtful authority, as I shall prove; and since it is questioned by Roman theologians whether the church has the power of determining whether a disputed synod is really œcumenical;[q] there is no presumption that the western church ever admitted the Greek synod of Nice to be the seventh œcumenical synod. Even if it had done so, however, and if the whole church had thus finally acknowledged it, still it must always remain of dubious authority, and can never be received except on mere opinion; because the church can only *vary* in matters of opinion, not in matters of faith.

Even in the sixteenth century it seems not to have been much known, or to have been still looked on with suspicion by some. Longolius published at Cologne, in 1540, the Nicene synod with this title: "Synodi Nicænæ quam *Græci* septimam vocant," &c. Merlinus published an edition of the councils in 1530, containing the six general councils, but omitting the synod of Nice. Bellarmine says: "It is very credible that St. Thomas, Alexander of Hales, and other scholastic doctors, had not seen the second synod of Nice, nor the eighth general synod;" he adds, that they "were long in obscurity, and were first published in our own age, as may be known from their not being extant in the older volumes of the councils; and St. Thomas and the other ancient schoolmen never make any mention of this Nicene synod."[r] This silence is very remarkable, because the Decretum Gratiani, which was then universally received, mentioned it as an œcumenical synod. In the fifteenth century, however, it is referred to by Thomas Waldensis as a general synod.[s]

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[q] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 175.

[r] Bellarminus de Imagin. sanct. lib. ii. c. 22.

[s] Thomas Waldensis Doctrinale Fidei, t. iii. tit. xix. c. 150.

SECTION. V.

THE SYNODS OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE CAUSE OF PHOTIUS.

A synod was assembled at Constantinople in 869 by the Emperor Basil, which was attended by about 100 eastern bishops. The legates of Adrian II. of Rome presided. They acknowledged seven preceding synods, condemned Photius patriarch of Constantinople as having been unlawfully appointed, and confirmed the worship of images.[t] This is now generally accounted the eighth œcumenical synod by Roman theologians. Bailly says: "It was confirmed by the pontiff and the whole western church."[u] Delahogue says: "The œcumenicity of this council is certain and undoubted. The schismatical Greeks alone do not acknowledge it."[v]

These are strange assertions, when it is remembered that pope Hadrian, in 871, only acknowledged *six* general councils;[w] that Cardinal Humbert, the Roman legate at Constantinople in 1054, only admitted *seven* general councils;[x] that the chronicles of St. Bertin in the tenth century reject this synod;[y] that the continuator of Aimon's books de Gestis Francorum to the year 1165, also reprobates it;[z] that it was annulled in 879 by a synod of 384 bishops at Constantinople, and has always since been rejected by the Eastern church; that in 1339, according to Barlaam, but *six* œcumenical synods were commonly received in the East;[a] that the synod of Florence, 1438, was styled the eighth œcumenical synod by its own acts, and in the papal

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[t] Harduin. Concilia, t. v.

[u] Bailly, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 463.

[v] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 444.

[w] Hadr. Ep. xxxiv. ad Carol. Calv.

[x] Canisii Thesaurus, t. iii. p. 327.

[y] Martene & Durand, Anecdota, t. iii. p. 527.

[z] Aimon, De Gestis Franc. liv. v. c. 28.

[a] Leo Allatius de perp. Consens. p. 790.

licenses.[b] It is manifest from all this, that this synod has never been received by the catholic church.

A synod was assembled at Constantinople in 879 by the Emperor Basil, on occasion of the restoration of Phocius to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. It was attended by the legates of John VIII. of Rome, and by 384 bishops. Phocius was in this synod declared legitimate patriarch, and the synod of 869 or 870 under Ignatius, was abrogated, rejected, and anathematized.[c] The second Nicene was acknowledged as the seventh œcumenical synod. This synod was rejected in the West: the chronicle of St. Bertin alone describes it as the "*seventh* synod of Constantinople."[d] Launoy says that some of the eastern writers called it the eighth œcumenical, but that others considered it a pseudo-synod.[e] To this day, however, it has not been reckoned at any time by either the Eastern or the Western churches among the œcumenical synods.

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[b] Launoii Epistolæ, pars viii. ep. xi.

[c] Harduin. Concilia, t. vi. pars i.

[d] Martene & Durand, Anecdota, iii. 527.

[e] Launoius, ut supra.

CHAPTER XI.

COUNCILS OF THE WESTERN CHURCH AFTER A.D. 1054, IMPROPERLY TERMED ŒCUMENICAL.

Of the synods held in the West since 1054, when the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople separated mutually from communion, none have been received by the Eastern church as œcumenical or binding in matters of faith or discipline. These synods were therefore merely national or general synods of the West, and are not invested with the authority of the catholic church. More than one of these synods have advanced propositions which are very questionable and even erroneous ; but it would be impossible to prove that the whole Western church has ever decreed what was contrary to faith. I shall reserve the synod of Trent for separate consideration.

SECTION I.

THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD LATERAN SYNODS.

The first Lateran synod was assembled by pope Calixtus II. in 1123. Three hundred bishops are said to have attended. There was no decree in faith made by this synod, which only confirmed the agreement about the investitures of prelates made between the emperor Henry and the Roman pontiff. This synod is generally called the "ninth œcumenical" by modern Roman authors.

The second Lateran synod was convened by pope Innocentius in 1139. Otho Frisingensis says, that 1000 bishops were present ;[a] but this is evidently a mistake, and it is to be under-

[a] Otto Frisingensis, lib. vii. c. 23. cited by Harduin. Concil. t. vi. p. 1215, who says, that Urspergensis testifies the same. Were this true, this Lateran synod would have been by far the greatest ever held.

stood that 1000 prelates of all sorts were present, including bishops, abbots, deans, &c. In this synod the heresies of the Manichæans were condemned.[b] These heretics rejected the sacraments, infant baptism, holy orders, and lawful marriage. Arnold of Brescia was admonished and silenced for his excessive declamations against the clergy.[c] Several canons of discipline were made. Nothing except what was laudable was done in this synod in matters of faith. It is styled by modern Roman theologians, the "tenth œcumenical synod."

The third Lateran synod was assembled by Alexander III. in 1179, and was attended by 280 bishops. There were no decrees on faith, except that the heretics called Cathari, Patarini, or Publicani, were for very good reasons excommunicated.[d] The principal act of the synod consisted of a regulation concerning the elections of the bishops of Rome. Some modern writers call it "the eleventh œcumenical synod."

These three synods were not œcumenical by convocation, the Latin bishops only being summoned; nor were any bishops of the oriental churches present in either of them. In the last, a few of the Latin bishops, whom the crusaders had placed in their districts, attended. The decrees of these synods were never sent to the oriental churches; nor have they ever yet been received or acknowledged in the East as œcumenical synods. In the fourteenth century the Eastern church acknowledged only six synods.[e] The council of Constance in the profession which was to be made by the newly-elected bishop of Rome, only spoke of one Lateran synod as general,[f] which must be referred to the fourth synod of Lateran, as this was much the greatest of the synods held there. In the synod of

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[b] Canon xxiii. Harduin. p. 1212.

[c] Harduin. Conc. vi. p. 1215.

[d] Can. xxviii. Harduin. vi. p. 1683. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 73. s. 18, 19, 20.

[e] See Barlaam cited above, note (z), p. 192.

[f] Conc. Const. Sess. xxxix. Harduin. t. viii. p. 859.

Florence the Greeks only received seven or eight synods.[g] That synod was styled by its editor the "eighth œcumenical," and is so termed in the papal license.[h] The historians Platina and Nauclerus do not term either of these Lateran synods general. Albertus Stadensis speaks of the last as a "celebrated synod," but does not call it general or œcumenical. Cardinal Gaspar Contarenus, in his "Summa of the most famous Councils," dedicated to pope Paul III. in 1562, does not include these Lateran synods among the œcumenical councils, as he styles the synod of Florence, the ninth œcumenical."[i] Thus these synods have merely the authority of the Western church, and as such they are not to be accounted equal to the genuine œcumenical synods.

SECTION II.

THE FOURTH LATERAN SYNOD.

Innocentius III. convened this synod (which some modern authors style "the twelfth œcumenical") in 1215: it consisted of 412 bishops, including some of the Latin patriarchs of the East: and a number of ambassadors of various princes were present. Pope Innocentius published in this synod a series of decrees, the first of which is a confession of faith directed against the errors of the sects who held the Manichæan heresy. These heretics denied the Unity and Trinity; maintained that there were two principles; denied the authority of the Old Testament as the work of the evil principle;

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[g] Synodus Florent. Sess. v. vi. vii. Harduin. Conc. t. ix.

[h] Launoius, Epistolar. pars viii. epist. xi.

[i] "Post hanc synodum Florentinam *nonam* œcumenicam, temporibus nostris sub Julio et Leone Pontificibus fuit synodus Lateranensis."—Opera Contareni, p. 563. ed. 1571. This edition is formally approved by several doctors of the University of Paris.

rejected the incarnation of Christ, the resurrection, the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, and marriage.[k]

The confession of faith published by Innocentius accordingly confesses the doctrine of the triune God, the only principle and author of all things; the authority of the Old Testament; our Lord's incarnation, suffering, bodily ascension into heaven; the resurrection of the body; the importance and use of the eucharist, the necessity of baptism, and lawfulness of marriage.[l]

This synod consisting only of Latin bishops, and having never been received by the Oriental churches, cannot be considered as invested with the authority of the catholic church. It was not acknowledged as œcumenical by the first edition of the synod of Florence, nor in the license of pope Clement VII. for publishing that synod,[m] nor by cardinal Contarenus,[n] nor by the historians Platina, Nauclerus, Trithemius, or Albertus Stadensis. The general doctrine of the decree on faith was, however, orthodox and laudable: it was directed against heretics who denied all that was most sacred in Christianity. But this decree has not the authority which might have been expected, because it appears not to have been made *conciliariter*, with synodical deliberation, discussion, and giving of suffrages; but Innocentius caused it to be read with many others in the presence of the synod, and the bishops seem to have remained silent.[o]

Du Pin remarks, that "no canons were made by the council, but some decrees were composed by the Roman pontiff,

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[k] See Mosheim's Eccl. History, cent. xii. part ii. c. 5. In proof of their denial of the *real presence* in the eucharist, see Mr. Maitland on the Albigenses, p. 237. 308. 319. 347. 355.

[l] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. lxxvii. s. 45, 46.

[m] Launoii Epistolæ, liv. viii. ep. xi. This edition styled the synod of *Florence* the *eighth* synod.

[n] Opera Contareni, p. 563.

[o] Matthæi Paris Hist. Angl. ad an. 1215.

and read in the council, some of which appeared burdensome to many." He says before, that they were not made *conciliariter*, and that many historians testify that nothing could be concluded on in that council: thus Nauclerus (generat. 4 ad an. 1215), speaking of the council, observes, 'Many things were consulted of, but yet nothing could be agreed on,' and again, 'Yet some constitutions are found to have been published.' Platina, in the life of Innocent III., says the same. 'Many things were consulted of, but yet nothing could be manifestly decreed, for both the people of Pisa and Genoa were engaged in warfare by sea, and the Cisalpines by land,' &c. Godefridus Viterbiensis (ad an. 1215) says: 'In this council nothing was done worthy of mention, except that the Oriental church submitted herself to the Roman.' Certainly, if canons were promulgated in that council, those which are proposed under its name were made by Innocent III., not by the whole council. Hence, in the title of this council by Jacobus Middemportius (in the works of Innocent III., published at Cologne, 1607, apud Cholinum,) is the following: 'Sacri Concilii Generalis Lateranensis, sub Domino Innocentio Pontifice maximo hujus nominis tertio, celebrati, anno Domini 1215, Decreta ab eodem Innocentio conscripta.' The same appears from Matthew Paris in his History of England (ad an. 1215.) 'A universal synod was celebrated at Rome, the Lord Pope Innocent III. presiding, in which were 412 bishops, &c. All being assembled, the pope having first delivered a word of exhortation, sixty canons were read in full council, which appeared tolerable to some, burdensome to others; then he commenced a discourse on the business of the crusade.'"[p] Du Pin, therefore, justly concludes that the decrees of this synod were not made *conciliariter*.

This objection alone would render the authority of such decrees very dubious according to Bellarmine, Bossuet, Dela-

[p] Du Pin, De Antiqua Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. vii. p. 572, 573.

hogue, &c.[q] for the promises of Christ to aid his church in determining the truth, always suppose the use of ordinary means. These decrees were indeed known in the Western church afterwards, rather under the name of pope Innocentius, than of the Lateran synod.[r]

Hence, even if we admitted that it was the intention of this synod to define the modern Roman opinion of transubstantiation as "de fide," it would not follow that its definition was binding on the church: but there are very reasonable grounds for doubting that the synod had such an intention. The Roman doctrine of transubstantiation supposes the *whole substance* (in the Aristotelic sense, as distinguished from the *accidents*) of bread and wine, to cease, by conversion into a different substance: so that the eucharist cannot be called bread after consecration, except in some figurative or tropical sense. The decree made at this synod uses indeed the term "transubstantiation" to express the μεταστοιχείωσις, or transelementation, by which the sacramental elements become the body and blood of Christ:[s] as the fathers had used the words mutatio, transitio, migratio, transfiguratio, μεταβολὴ, μετακόσμησις, μετασκευασμὸς, μεταστοιχείωσις, μεταποίησις, &c.:[t] but though the

[q] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 212. 278.

[r] One MS. referred to by Harduin does not give these decrees any title: the other is thus headed: "Incipiunt constitutiones Innocentii III. Papæ, &c."—Harduin. Conc. t. vii. p. 15. In the Decretals of Gregory IX. tit. i. de sum. Trini. & fid. cath. we find the first canon headed "*Innocentius III.* in concilio generali." In the next title we find "ex *concilio* Meldensi."

[s] All the μεταστοιχείωσις of the sacramental elements maketh them not to cease to be of the same nature which before they were."—Bishop Pearson on the Creed. Article III. Note on Eutychian heresy. The decree of the Lateran synod was as follows: "In qua (ecclesia) idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina."—Harduin. Concilia, t. vii. p. 17.

[t] Bishop Taylor's Dissuasive, p. 664. Oxford ed. by Cardwell.

term "transubstantiation," as Bossuet observes, naturally implies a "*change of substance*,"[u] this by no means settles the question; for it does not determine whether "substance" is used in the Aristotelic or the popular sense; whether the change is physical,[v] and in itself corresponding to other changes whether natural or miraculous, or entirely sacramental, spiritual, and ineffable; in fine, whether it be partial or total. Hence, those who employed the *term* transubstantiation with reference to the mystical change, might quite consistently hold that the substance of bread was not physically changed, or that it was only partially changed, or that it did not cease to exist, or that it was changed by union with the substance of Christ's body, or with his soul, or with the Divine nature. All these opinions are consistent with the use of the term transubstantiation, and all are contradictory to the common Roman doctrine on the subject.

In fact, pope Innocentius himself, in one of his books, having asserted that "the matter of bread and wine . . . is *transubstantiated* into Christ's body," continues thus: "but whether *parts* change into *parts*, or the *whole* into the *whole*, or the *entire* into the *entire*, He alone knows who effects it. As for me, I commit to the fire what remains; for we are commanded to believe; forbidden to discuss."[w] Thus Innocentius declares

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[u] Bossuet, Variations, liv. iii. s. 16.

[v] "Ecclesia Catholica Orientalis atque Græco-Russica, admittit quidem vocem transubstantiatio, Græce *μετουσίωσις non physicam illam transubstantiationem et carnalem, sed sacramentalem et mysticam*; eodemque sensu hanc vocem, transubstantiatio, accipit, quam quo antiquissimi ecclesiæ Græcæ patres has voces *μεταλλαγὴ*, *μετάθεσις*, *μετασταιχείωσις* accipiebant."—Plato Archbishop of Moscow, in reply to M. Dutens, Œuvres mêlées, part ii. p. 171. This reply is referred to as of authority by Methodius, Archbishop of Twer, in the Preface to his "Liber Historicus," Mosquæ, 1805.

[w] "Non enim de pane vel de vino materialiter formatur caro vel sanguis, sed materia panis et vini mutatur in substantiam carnis et sanguinis, nec adjicitur aliquid corpori sed transubstantiatur in corpus. Verum an partes in partes, an totum in totum, an totale transeat in totale, novit Ille qui facit. Ego quod residuum est, igni comburo. Nam credere jubemur, discutere prohibemur."—Innocentius III. De Myster. Missæ, lib. iv. c. 7, 8.

that the total change of the substance is not a matter of faith; and he mentions, *without any condemnation*, the opinion of some who held that the bread and wine remained after consecration, together with the body and blood.[x] He reserves the charge of heresy for those who held the bread to be only a figure of Christ's body.[y]

This renders it very probable, that Innocentius in the synod of Lateran did not intend to establish any thing except the doctrine of the real presence. In fact, the question was not then with those who denied the modern doctrine of transubstantiation: it was with the Manichæans, who denied the real presence of Christ's body in the eucharist. Nor was the term transubstantiation introduced specially into the decree to meet any particular heresy; as the term "consubstantial" had been introduced into the creed at the synod of Nice, expressly to exclude the heresy of Arius. No one objected to this *term* at the council of Lateran: no one had objected to it before: nor does it appear that it was disapproved of by any one till centuries afterwards, when it had been abused by some persons. Hence, I conclude that the term was employed, not with any intention of establishing a specific view of the real presence; but simply as equivalent to "conversion," "transformation," "change," &c. which had been employed before, and continued to be employed afterwards, to express the same thing.

That this was so, and that the whole Western church believed the common opinion of transubstantiation not to be a matter of faith, may be inferred absolutely and conclusively from the fact, that while this opinion was held by the majority of scholastic theologians till the period of the Reformation, several other opinions, entirely inconsistent with it, were openly held and taught by writers of eminence, *without any condemnation or censure*. Durandus a S. Porciano, about 1320, taught that the matter of bread and wine *remain* after consecration.[z] Nevertheless, he

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[x] Ibid. c. 9.

[y] Ibid. c. 7.

[z] Durand. Commentar. in Sent. lib. iv. dist. xi. qu. 3. He says, "præ-

was so far from being censured, that the pope made him bishop of Annecy, and afterwards of Meaux; and he is praised by Trithemius and Gerson, the latter of whom recommended his writings to students in the University of Paris.[a] Cardinal d'Ailly, who presided at the council of Constance, A.D. 1415, says, that "although catholics agree that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, there are different opinions as to the *mode*. The first is, that the *substance of bread is Christ's body;* the second, that the substance does not remain, but is reduced into matter existing by itself, or receiving another form, &c.; the third, that the substance of bread *remains;* the fourth, and more common, that the substance does not remain, but simply ceases to exist."[b] Thus we see that the common opinion of transubstantiation was only an *opinion*, and that different opinions were held by "catholics." In fine, the scholastic theologians generally mention the different opinions without imputing heresy to those that received them. From this it appears evidently, that the common doctrine of transubstantiation was not defined by the synod of Lateran, or by the Western church: but at all events, as Bouvier, bishop of Mans, says, after Melchior Canus and many other of the best theologians, "When, all circumstances considered, it remains doubtful whether a council really intended to define any doctrine, then the decision is not *de fide;* for in order that any proposition should pertain to the catholic faith, and be binding on all the faithful, it is not sufficient that it be revealed and enunciated in *any* manner; but it is requisite that it be proposed clearly and without any doubt, by an infal-

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dictus autem modus conversionis substantiæ panis in corpus Christi constat quod est possibilis. Alius autem modus qui communius tenetur est intelligibilis, nec unus istorum est magis per ecclesiam approbatus vel reprobatus quam alius."

[a] See the preface to Durandi Comment. in Sent. Pet. Lombard. Antwerp. 1567.

[b] Cardinalis de Alliaco in 4 dist. 6, art. 11. cited by Tournely, De Eucharistia, t. i. p. 265. See also Field, Of the Church, Appendix to Part iii. c. 17; Bull's Works by Burton, vol. ii. p. 257.

lible authority."[c] On this principle, the common Roman opinion of transubstantiation can never be proved a matter of faith by the decree made in the Lateran synod.

The decree beginning "Omnis utriusque sexus,"[d] enjoining annual confession to a priest, and Easter communion, was merely in a matter of changeable discipline, which a synod of the Western church could not render always obligatory on national churches.

SECTION III.

THE SYNODS AT LYONS AND VIENNE.

1. Innocentius IV. of Rome assembled the first synod of Lyons in 1245, at which 140 bishops were present. The pontiff, in the presence of the synod, which listened in astonishment, pronounced a sentence of deposal against the emperor Frederick.[e] He also enacted several regulations of discipline. No decisions in matters of faith seem to have been made. This synod was not attended or received by the Oriental bishops and churches, consequently it cannot be accounted œcumenical. It was also not acknowledged as such by the first edition of the synod of Florence ;[f] by the historians Platina, Flavius Blondus, Trithemius, Albertus Stadensis ; or by cardinal Contarenus[g] in the sixteenth century ; and although some modern writers pretend that it was the "thirteenth œcumenical synod," "many catholics," as Tournely says, have doubted its œcumenicity for the following reasons : "First, because the council of Florence, according to the papal diploma, is entitled the eighth general council ; so that whatever councils were celebrated from the

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[c] Bouvier, De Ecclesia, p. 236.

[d] Canon xxi. Harduin. Conc. t. vii. p. 35.

[e] Matthæi Paris Hist. Anglic. ad an. 1245, cited by Harduin. t. vii. p. 401.

[f] Launoii Epist. l. viii. ep. xi.

[g] Contareni Opera, p. 563

time of the seventh general synod, which was the second Nicene, to the time of the council of Florence, were held not to be œcumenical by whoever wrote the title of the council of Florence, or confirmed it."[h] He also observes that bishops were not present from all Christian provinces, or even all Western provinces, which Bellarmine (lib. i. de Conciliis, cap. 17.) regards as the last condition necessary to a general council when celebrated in the West. So far from this being the case, no bishops were present from Germany, Hungary, Italy, Brittany, Spain, Sweden, Poland. The council of Constance, in the formulary which it appointed to be subscribed by the pontiff elected, enumerates the general synods to that time, but only mentions one synod of Lyons, which must have been the second synod in 1274, as being a much greater synod than this. And in fine, "the authors who speak of it, as Matthew Paris, Albertus Stadensis, Trithemius, and Platina, do not call it general. Onuphrius, who lived in the sixteenth century, first gives it that title."[i] Delahogue also observes, that the œcumenicity of this synod is disputed.[k]

2. The second synod of Lyons was convened by Gregory X., bishop of Rome, in 1274: it was attended by 500 bishops of the Latin churches. In the fourth session of the council, the ambassadors of the Eastern emperor, viz., Germanus, formerly bishop of Constantinople, and Theophanes of Nicæa, George Acropolita, &c. were present; when a letter was read from the Greek emperor Michael, professing the doctrines of

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h [This, too, is very evident from the tenor of the discussions in that council. Both parties appeal repeatedly and without hesitation to *seven* general synods; both parties allude to the rival candidates for the title of *eighth*, which they agree to consider as particular, not general. (Concil. Rom. IV. 349. conf. 371.); neither make any mention of a *ninth* or subsequent synod claiming to be general.]

i Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 435, 436. See also Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. t. ii. p. 379.

k Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 278.

the Roman primacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, and seven sacraments. A letter from thirty-five Greek bishops was also read, in which they expressed their wish for union, and admitted the primacy of the Roman see.[l] The council did not examine or formally approve these letters, but not judging them to be contrary to faith, permitted the union of the churches without requiring the Greeks to add *filioque* to the creed. The only decree in faith made by Gregory in this synod was a definition that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle, and a condemnation of the contrary doctrine.[m]

This synod was never accounted œcumenical in the East, the Eastern patriarchs and bishops not having sent any deputies to it; and whatever consent some of them gave to the union, having been extorted by the violence of the emperor Michael Palæologus, who was desirous of obtaining the political assistance of the Roman see.[n] This synod was not reckoned œcumenical by the editors of the synod of Florence,[o] by Cardinal Contarenus,[p] or by Platina, Nauclerus, or Flavius Blondus.

3. The same observations apply to the synod of Vienne of 300 bishops, assembled by Clement V. in 1311: none of the oriental bishops were present, nor was it ever acknowledged in the eastern church. This synod condemned the errors of Peter de Oliva and the Beghards, and made decrees of doctrine concerning the nature of our Lord and some other points, which seem to have been generally laudable:[p] but it cannot have any just claim to be accounted "the fifteenth œcumenical synod,"

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[l] Harduin. Concil. t. vii. p. 694—701.

[m] Constitutio i. Harduin. t. vii. p. 705.

[n] Barlaam declares that this was the opinion of the Greeks. See Raynald. Annales ad an. 1339, n. 21; Bzovii Annales, ibid. c. xxiv.

[o] Launoii Epist. viii. xi. [p] Contareni Opera, p. 563.

[p] The decisions made in this synod are contained in the liber Clementinorum, but are mixed up with others, which were not made by the synod of Vienne.—Harduin. vii. p. 1359. There seem considerable difficulties in ascertaining what the precise decrees of the synod actually were.

as it is by some modern theologians. It was not styled œcumenical by Platina, Blondus, Trithemius, the synod of Florence, or Contarenus.

SECTION IV.

THE SYNODS OF PISA AND CONSTANCE.

1. The synod of Pisa was assembled by the cardinals in 1408, to terminate the schism in the papacy. It consisted of twenty-two cardinals, eighty-three bishops, and the deputies of eighty-five more. No decrees were made in matters of faith or discipline. It is not usually accounted œcumenical by Roman theologians, and was never known in the east.

2. The synod of Constance assembled by John XXIII. in 1414, consisted of about 250 Latin bishops. It decreed that a general council was superior to the pope,[q] deposed one of the rival popes, obliged the other to relinquish his office, and elected a new pope.

The only decrees of importance concerning religion are those condemning Wickliffe and Huss, and approving the administration of the eucharist in one kind only.

In the eighth session (1415,) forty-five propositions taken from the writings of Wickliffe, were censured as heretical, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, offensive to pious ears, rash, and seditious.[r] The first of these propositions was, that the substance of material bread remains in the sacrament of the altar, the second, that the accidents do not remain without a

[q] "Ipsa synodus in Spiritu Sancto congregata legitime, generale concilium faciens, ecclesiam catholicam militantem repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem, et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem generalem ecclesiæ Dei in capite et in membris."—Sess. iv. Harduin. Conc. t. viii. p. 252.

[r] The decree of condemnation says, "quibus articulis examinatis, fuit repertum (prout in veritate est) aliquos et plures ex ipsis fuisse et esse notorie hæreticos, et a sanctis patribus dudum reprobatos; alios non catholi-

subject in the same sacrament. Amongst the other doctrines condemned are many very erroneous, and even absurd, positions;[s] some, however, are not so, *e. g.* the 38th, "that the decretal epistles are apocryphal." This article is now generally received as true in the Roman obedience. The condemnation of these propositions *in globo*, without affixing any particular mark to each proposition, renders it impossible to affirm that the synod of Constance meant to condemn this or that particular proposition as heretical. They may have only judged the two first propositions scandalous, that is, likely to excite disturbance in the church; and propositions are scandalous at one time which are not so at another. The same observations apply to the condemnations of the thirty-nine propositions of Huss in the fifteenth session. In the thirteenth session (1415,) the synod made a decree that, "since it is necessary to believe firmly that the whole body and blood of Christ is contained in the species of bread; the custom of communicating in that species only having been long observed, should be regarded as a law which men should not reject or change according to their taste, *without the authority of the church*."[t] The doctrine here somewhat crudely laid down by the synod of Constance, was derived from the doctrine of the real presence, combined with that of the indivisible unity of the person of our Lord Jesus Christ; whence they concluded that where his flesh truly existed, there his whole body and blood could not be absent. Nor has this doctrine been

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cos, sed erroneos; alios scandalosos et blasphemos, quosdam piarum aurium offensivos, nonnullos eorum temerarios et seditiosos."—Sessio viii. Harduin. t. viii. p. 302. They also condemned 260 other propositions selected by the University of Oxford, as heretical, seditious, erroneous, temerarious, scandalous, or insane.—Ibid.

[s] Wickliffe certainly taught several serious errors. The Apology of the Confession of Augsburg reckoned the Wickliffites as much in error as the Donatists. "Satis clare diximus . . . . . nos improbare Donatistas et Wicleffistas qui senserunt homines peccare accipientes sacramenta ab indignis in ecclesia."—Apol. Conf. August. (iv.)

[t] Sess. xii. Harduin. Conc. t. viii. p. 381.

at any time reprobated by our catholic churches: indeed it might perhaps be gathered from those words of our Liturgy, "He hath given *his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ*, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament," and from the words of the Article: "In no wise are they partakers of *Christ*:" thus teaching us that we receive in the eucharist, not merely the flesh or the blood of Christ, but Christ himself, in the unity of his person. Hence, it would seem rash to affirm absolutely that the reception in one kind rendered the sacrament invalid.

But this does not affect the question of administering in one kind only, an abuse which was introduced through a misdirected devotion for this sacrament, and which, in order to obviate certain imagined irreverencies in its use, abrogated the practice which had been instituted by our Lord himself, and received universally in the catholic church for twelve centuries. If such an institution be not obligatory on the church, it is impossible to prove any thing obligatory: and as it is even still disputed in the Roman churches, whether *more grace* is not derived from reception of both kinds,[u] the church is certainly bound to take *the safer side*. It is important to observe also, that the synod of Constance only prohibited the restoration of the ancient custom by private individuals, without the authority of the church: therefore national churches are *entirely free from censure*, in putting an end to the custom of receiving in one kind.

These are the only decrees made in the synod of Constance which concern religion: but we are now to consider its title to the appellation of an "œcumenical synod."

This is at once subverted by the fact that the oriental churches were not represented at this synod, nor did they ever acknow-

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[u] Tournely observes, from Palavicini, lib. xii. c. 2. that the affirmative was maintained at the synod of Trent by Melchior Canus, Antonius Ugliva, and Sigismund Fedrius; and that it is maintained by Vasquez, in 3 part. disput. 215. qu. 80. art. 2. and others referred to by him. Tournely, De Euchar. t. ii. p. 34.

ledge it as œcumenical. The editor of the synod of Florence, and the pope who licensed it, also excluded Constance from the title of œcumenical, as did Cardinal Contarenus. But I proceed to adduce additional proofs from Alphonso de Ligorio, bishop of St. Agatha, who is accounted a saint by the Roman church.

The fathers of this synod, as we collect from him, were only those of the obedience of John XXIII. and did not include those of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. The suffrages were not given separately, but by nations, which John XXIII. objected to, and Cardinal D'Ailly, who was present, proposed a doubt in the synod whether its acts would not be questioned hereafter as null on this account. Hence Cardinal Turrecremata (lib. ii. de Eccl. c. 99, 100), and Cajetan (p. 1. de auct. Papæ, c. 8.) absolutely assert that those decrees are of no moment, because *the church* did not interfere in making them.[v]

Bellarmine,[w] Gregory de Valentia,[x] and the ultramontanes generally, only admit the last sessions of this synod as œcumenical, that is, after the election of Martin V. in the forty-first session, A. D. 1417. It should be observed that the objection of the ultramontanes to the œcumenicity of the early sessions, on the ground of their comprising the prelates of only one obedience, affects those sessions in which the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss are condemned, and communion in one kind authorized; for, as Bailly says, "the two obediences spoken of were not then united with the third."[y] Hence, the decrees on these matters are of most dubious authority.

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[v] Alph. de Ligorio Theologia Moralis, lib. i. art. 129—131.

[w] Bellarminus de Concil. Auctor. lib. ii. c. 19.

[x] Gregor. de Valentia, Analys. Fid. Cath. lib. viii. c. 7.

[y] Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. t. ii. p. 289.

SECTION V.

THE SYNODS OF BASLE, FLORENCE, AND LATERAN.

1. The synod of Basle was assembled in 1431, by Martin V. of Rome, and continued by Eugenius IV. It persisted to hold sessions till 1443. This synod declared the superiority of a general council over a pope, and in 1437 Eugenius published a bull translating it to Ferrara, which the synod of Basle refused to obey, and continued its sessions, in which the practice of communicating in one kind was again confirmed. This took place in the thirtieth session,[z] and Bailly says that no catholic admits the latter *twenty* sessions (out of forty-five) as œcumenical. The Gallicans admit the first twenty-five or sixteen as œcumenical. The ultramontanes, who reject the entire council,[a] receive *none*. Alphonsus de Ligorio says, "Louis Du Pin, who is followed by some other Gallicans, did not blush to call this conventicle of Basle an œcumenical synod. . . . . To refute their most false suppositions would require a long and entire dissertation, ... but I reply briefly, that this convention of Basle by no means deserves the name of a general council; and this appears manifestly from circumstances which are beyond doubt. The number of bishops was so small, that it never could by any means represent the universal church. . . . . The decrees were not made by bishops only, as they ought, but by a multitude of people of little value, and no authority . . . . Æneas Sylvius said, 'Among the bishops in Basle we saw cooks and stable-boys judging the affairs of the world.' . . . . Papal legates were not present, as was essentially necessary . . . . besides, Eugenius had revoked the council after the first session, ... the suffrages given in the said synod were by no means free, as cardinal Turrecremata and Eugenius asserted.

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[z] Sessio xxx. Harduin. Concil. t. viii. p. 1241.

[a] Bailly, Tract. de Ecclesia, t. i. p. 471.

. . . . . St. Antoninus called this synod of Basil, 'a conventicle devoid of power, and a synagogue of Satan.' S. John de Capistrano termed it 'a profane synod, excommunicated, and a den of basilisks.' The bishop of Meaux called it 'a troop of dæmons,' &c. &c."[b] The synod of Basle can hardly be viewed as œcumenical after all this: besides, it was never known or approved by the oriental churches.

2. The synod of Florence was first assembled at Ferrara by Eugenius IV., who attempted to translate the council of Basle thither in 1437; but ineffectually, for only four of the bishops left Basle, and the ambassadors of the Christian princes still remained there.[c] The synod of Basle still continued to be recognized as œcumenical by France, Germany, and other countries. The rival synod of Ferrara was transferred to Florence, A.D. 1439, where several Italian bishops assisted. The Greek emperor, and some bishops of the east, having arrived for the purpose of uniting the churches, a decree was made in the tenth session, declaring that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; that the sacrament is validly consecrated in unleavened as well as leavened bread; that there is a purgatory; and that the Roman pontiff is the primate and head of the whole church. This decree was signed by about sixty-two Latin bishops, including some not yet consecrated, and by eighteen eastern bishops, some of whom signed as deputies of other bishops.[d] Thus, the whole number amounted to about eighty—a small number for a synod pretending to be œcumenical.

The synod of Florence was immediately rejected in the eastern churches, and has never since been recognized by them. In the west its authority has always been doubtful, because the rival synod of Basle was holding its sessions at the same time,

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[b] Alphons. de Ligorio, Episc. S. Agathæ, Theologia Moralis, lib. i. art. 132, 133.

[c] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. cvii. s. 71. cviii. s. 50.

[d] Fleury, liv. cviii. s. 39, 40.

and acknowledged by France and Germany as œcumenical. Cardinal de Lorraine declared in the synod of Trent, 1563, that the university of Paris did not hold the synod of Florence as œcumenical, because it consisted only of Italian bishops, and Greeks who were schismatics at the beginning of the synod.[e] Launoy says that the Gallican church does not number it among the general councils, and cites Cardinal Lorraine to this effect.[f] Hooke and Tournely admit that it is doubted by some.[g]

The decree for the reunion of the Armenians was made by Eugenius IV. after the departure of the Greeks, and teaches the doctrine of seven sacraments, the character impressed by three of them, the necessity of the intention of the minister, transubstantiation, and auricular confession. This decree is held by many Roman authors not to possess much authority, as it was not approved by the oriental bishops.[h]

3. The synod of Lateran assembled by Leo X. in 1512, and attended by 114 Italian bishops, made no definitions in matters of faith; and though the ultramontanes call it œcumenical, Bellarmine says that it remained in his days a question among catholics, whether it were truly so.[i]

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[e] Fleury, liv. clxiv. s. 74.

[f] "Gallicana ecclesia nec Florentinum nec Lateranense concilium, quod Leo X. habuit, universalibus conciliis adnumerat. Id testati sunt in Tridentino concilio Gallicani antistites de Florentino, et Pio IV. Caroli Cardinalis Lotharingii opera, significavere." He adds the following words of Cardinal de Lorraine, "Ego negare non possum quin Gallus sim, &c. Apud Gallos Constantiense concilium in partibus suis omnibus ut generale habetur. Basiliense in auctoritatem admittitur. Florentinum perinde ac nec legitimum, nec generale repudiatur: atque idcirco Galli de vita potius, quam de sententia decedent."—Launoii Epist. lib. viii. ep. xi.

[g] Hooke, Relig. Nat. et Rev. t. iii. p. 373. Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 309.

[h] This is the opinion of Natalis Alexander, and many others.—See Fleury, liv. cviii. s. 103.

[i] Bellarminus, lib. ii. de Conc. c. 13.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SYNOD OF TRENT.

In reviewing the clear and undoubted decisions of the western synods previously to the reformation, we do not observe any which compelled the Latin churches to receive doctrines at variance with those taught by our catholic and apostolic churches. The synod of Florence alone, in the year 1439, made a definition of faith, in which the doctrine of purgatory and the papal supremacy appeared; but as I have shown, the œcumenicity of this synod was doubtful even in the western church. The synod of Trent, however, in its various sessions from 1545 to 1563, defined several doctrines as matters of faith, which we cannot approve; and although many of its judgments are laudable, and others admit of a catholic interpretation, still there are some which render all accommodation impossible, while this synod is acknowledged by the members of the Roman obedience, as œcumenical and infallible.

It is admitted generally now by Roman theologians, that the only final proof of the œcumenicity and infallibility of any synod is its reception by the universal church.[a] On this ground Bossuet concludes that whoever does not acknowledge these qualities in the synod of Trent is to be accounted a heretic, because all the bishops, and the whole catholic church, approve and receive it.[b] Denying the conclusion, I most fully admit the principle of Bossuet, properly understood; and on this principle proceed to prove,

First, that the decrees of the synod of Trent were not judgments of the catholic church.

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[a] See above, Chapter VII.

[b] See the correspondence of Bossuet, in the works of Leibnitz, by Dutens.

Secondly, that they were not judgments of the Roman obedience.

If these points are established, it will appear evidently that the decrees of the synod of Trent are not obligatory as matters of faith on any part of the catholic church, except in those parts where they are supported by scripture, by the decrees of œcumenical synods, or by catholic tradition.

I. The synod of Trent was not œcumenical and infallible, because it was not received or approved by the catholic church: for although it was acknowledged by the Christian churches in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders, part of Germany, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Dalmatia, and by the Maronites in Syria, and by some few in South America; it was rejected or not approved by the churches and brethren throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, part of Germany, Russia, Siberia, part of Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Turkey, Greece, the Archipelago, Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Georgia, Mingrelia, Circassia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt; nor has it yet been received by any of these churches. Hence, the synod of Trent cannot possibly have the authority of an œcumenical synod. If a Romanist reply to this, that the churches of Britain, and of the east, and the Lutherans, were schismatics and heretics; I deny the fact, for they never separated from the communion of the rest of the catholic church, nor did they ever dispute any decrees of the catholic church:[c] and if it be alleged, that they were separated from the Roman see, the centre of unity, I reply that it was not their fault; and if communion with the Roman pontiff be simply and absolutely necessary under all circumstances, then he must be not only infallible, but *impeccable*, which Romanists themselves do not admit. Therefore as these brethren always constituted a great portion of the catholic church, their approbation was essentially necessary in order to render the decrees of any synod truly binding on the church.

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[c] See Part I. ch. ix. x. and Part II. ch. ii. vi.

II. The reception of the synod of Trent and its decrees by the churches of the Roman obedience, affords no evidence of the judgment of those churches on the questions then in controversy; for it is certain that *theological opinions were universally prevalent at that time in the Roman churches, which obliged them to accept without any examination or judgment, the decrees of the synod of Trent.*

The synod of Trent possessed all the essentials of a general synod according to Roman theologians. It was summoned by a pope: all the bishops of the Roman obedience (which, according to the opinion then beyond all doubt universal in the Roman churches, comprised the whole catholic church), were summoned to attend. The papal legates presided: the council proceeded *conciliariter*, examining and discussing the various controversies, and deciding by the plurality of votes: if in most of the sessions the number of bishops was not large, the latter sessions in which the former were approved, comprised nearly two-hundred bishops. In fine, the decrees of this synod were formally approved by the Roman pontiff. Assuming, then, what every member of the Roman obedience believed, that the catholic church was limited to the papal communion; the synod of Trent was apparently œcumenical, according to all the received opinions.

Now, it is certain that during the whole of the sixteenth century, and till long afterwards, it was the doctrine maintained by all members of the Roman churches, that *a general council confirmed by a pope* was infallible; that its decrees could not be submitted to examination, or disputed without heresy. It was taught by the most leading theologians, without any hesitation, that whoever denied the infallibility of such a synod was a heretic.

I might be content to appeal in proof of this, to the well known and indisputable fact, that in the sixteenth century the whole Roman obedience was divided into two parties; one of which, the Ultramontane, held the infallibility of the pope and denied that of general councils independently of the pope;

while the other, the Gallican, maintained the infallibility of general councils, even without papal confirmation, and denied the infallibility of papal judgments, except when they were approved by the universal church. But, whatever were the differences of these parties, *both* were bound, by their principles, to acknowledge the infallibility of *a general council confirmed by a pope;* and thus all members of the Roman obedience were obliged to receive the synod of Trent as indisputable and infallible. They could not, consistently with their belief, doubt whether its decrees were really conformable to scripture and tradition: they could not examine them, except under an invincible prejudice. Therefore, their reception of the synod of Trent was neither an approbation nor a judgment, properly speaking; it was a mere implicit submission to the synod, a silent registration of its decrees.

Every bishop and theologian of the Roman obedience during the sixteenth century, whose opinions I have been able to ascertain, held either that the pope or a general council was infallible. Not a single instance of a contrary opinion amongst them have I ever seen even alluded to by writers of any party whatever.

1. The infallibility of a general synod confirmed by a pope was held at that time to be a matter of faith, so that he who denied it was accounted a heretic.

Bellarmine says: "*All catholics* agree in two things, not indeed with heretics, but among themselves; the first, that the pope *with a general council* cannot err in making decrees of faith."[d] In speaking of various doctrines as to the authority of councils, he says: "The *first* is, that the pontiff even as pontiff, although he should define any thing *with a general council*, may be heretical, and teach others heresy, &c. . . .

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[d] "Catholici *omnes* in aliis duobus conveniunt, non quidem cum hæreticis, sed solum inter se. Primo, pontificem cum generali concilio non posse errare in condendis fidei decretis, vel generalibus præceptis morum." —Bellarmin. De Romano Pontifice, lib. iv. c. 2.

Of these four doctrines, the first is *heretical*."[e] He says elsewhere, "All catholics constantly teach that general councils confirmed by the chief pontiff cannot err, either in explaining the faith, or in delivering moral precepts common to all the church. . . . . It is to be held with catholic faith, that general councils confirmed by the pontiff cannot err either in faith or morals."[f] Cardinal Fisher said: "If any council be assembled in the Holy Ghost, by the authority of the pontiff, all persons being admonished whom it concerns to attend; I firmly hold that such a council cannot err in matters of faith."[g] Melchior Canus says: "A general council confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff, renders the faith in catholic doctrines *certain:* which conclusion it is necessary to hold as so undoubted, as to believe the contrary *heretical*."[h] Gregorius de Valentia affirms, that when the Roman pontiff has confirmed a council, the whole church ought to receive its decrees: "For when will there be any end of controversies in the church, if when they have been decided by the church, and the pastor of the church, the Vicar of Christ, in an œcumenical synod, it may still be lawful for a private individual to judge the decrees of the synod by the rule of scripture, that is, by his own dreams of scripture? . . . Whoever does not acquiesce here, but chooses to arrogate to himself a further judgment on his judges, and to dispute whether the definitions made by the

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e "*Prima* (sententia) est, Pontificem, etiam ut Pontificem, etiamsi cum generali concilio definiret aliquid, posse esse hæreticum in se, et docere alios hæresim. . . . . Ex his quatuor sententiis *prima* est hæretica."—Ib.

f Bellarmin. De Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 2. "Catholici vero *omnes* constanter docent concilia generalia a summo Pontifice confirmata, errare non posse, nec in fide, nec in moribus. . . . Fide catholica tenendum est concilia generalia a Summo Pontifice confirmata, errare non posse."

g Fischerus Roffensis, Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio, fol. 160.

h Melchior Canus, De loc. Theol. lib. v. c. 4. "Tertia conclusio. Concilium generale confirmatum auctoritate Romani Pontificis, certam fidem facit Catholicorum dogmatum. Quam quidem conclusionem ita exploratam habere opus est, ut ejus contrariam hæreticam esse credamus."

rulers of the church, by whom the Holy Spirit willed us to be instructed, are true; such a man does not follow, but proudly and contumaciously transgresses the mode of 'trying spirits' prescribed by the divine law, and is evidently proved *to be a heretic*, unless it be altogether denied, that there were ever any heretics in the world.[i]" Such has always since been the prevalent doctrine of the Roman schools. Launoius cites Bannes, Duvallius, and other theologians, as affirming that the doctrine of the infallibility of a council confirmed by the pope is *universally held*.[k] Bossuet, in replying to a passage from St. Augustine adduced by the Ultramontanes against the authority of general councils, asks what is meant by the objection: "Is it meant that œcumenical councils can err in faith? Impious! Heretical! To be detested by all catholics!"[l] In more modern times Dr. Milner said: "Let me ask . . . whether he finds any catholic who denies or doubts that a general council with the pope at its head . . . is secure from error? Most certainly not: and hence he may gather where all catholics agree in lodging infallibility."[m]

The infallibility of the pope was maintained in the sixteenth century by the following theologians of the Roman obedience: Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, regarded it as *de fide*.[n] Cardinal Bellarmine affirms that it is the opinion of almost all catholics.[o] Gregory de Valentia says it is to be believed with *certain* faith.[p] Saurez maintains that it is a matter of faith.[q]

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[i] Gregorius de Valentia, Analysis Fid. Cathol. lib. viii. c. 7.

[k] Launoii Epistolæ, p. 156. ed. Cantab.

[l] "An ut concilia œcumenica in fide errare possunt? Impium, hæreticum, omnibus catholicis detestandum."—Bossuet, Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. viii. c. 18.

[m] Milner, End of Controversy, Lett. xii.

[n] Melchior Canus, Loc. Theol. lib. vi. c. 7.

[o] Bellarminus, De Rom. Pont. lib. iv. c. 2.

[p] Gregor. de Valentia, Analysis Fidei Cathol. lib. viii. c. 2.

[q] Saurez, De Fide, disput. v. s. 8. n. 4.

Pighius held that it was irrefragable.[r] The infallibility of the pope was also taught by cardinal Cajetan,[s] cardinal Hosius, bishop of Warmia,[t] cardinal Contarenus,[u] John Eckius,[v] John Hessels à Lovanio,[w] Ruard Tapperus,[x] James Naclantus, bishop of Chiozza,[y] Dominic Bannes, Duvallius, Coriolanus, Comptonus,[z] cardinal Fisher, Stapleton,[a] Harding, Cochlæus,[b] Sylvester de Prierio, Gretser,[c] besides pope Leo X.[d] and the Lateran synod, which taught this doctrine, at least by inference.

The infallibility of a general council was held in the sixteenth century by the following theologians. Cardinal de Lorraine and the university of Paris held it to be a matter of faith, and the Ultramontane opinion to be heretical.[e] This doctrine was also firmly taught by the faculty of Theology at Paris,[f] by the provincial synod of Sens in 1528,[g] by the doctors of Paris, and all the bishops and churches of France in 1543;[h] by pope

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r Pighius, Hierarch. Eccl. lib. iv.

s Cajetan, De Comparat. auctor. Papæ et Concilii.

t Hosius, lib. ii. cont. Brent.

u Contarenus, De Potestate Pontificis.

v Eckius, lib. i. de Primat. Petri, c. 18.

w Jo. à Lovanio Liber de perp. Cathedræ Petri potest. &c. c. 11.

x Tapperus, Oratio iii. Theologica.

y Naclantus Clugiensis, Tract. de Potest. Papæ et Concilii.

z Cited by Launoius, Epistolæ, p. 156. ed. Cantab.

a Stapleton, Oper. t. i. p. 706, &c. ed. Paris, 1620.

b Cochlæus, De Canon. Script. et Eccl. Auth. c. xi.

c Gretser, Def. Bellar. lib. iv. c. 2.

d Leo X. Bull. adv. Luther. art. 28, referred to by Gregory de Valentia, Analys. Fid. Cath. lib. viii. c. 2.

e Launoii Epistolæ, p. 158. ed. Cantabr.

f "Certum est concilium generale legitime congregatum, universam repræsentans ecclesiam, in fidei et morum determinationibus errare non posse."—Sacr. Facult. Paris. in censura Luth. art. xxii. See Hooke, Relig. Nat. et Rev. t. iii. p. 394.

g Harduin. Concilia, t. ix. p. 1936.

h See Bossuet, Gallia orthodoxa, c. xxvii. xxviii.

Adrian VI.,[i] Almain,[k] Alphonsus à Castro,[l] archbishop of Compostella, Jodocus Clictovæus,[m] Thomas Illyricus,[n] cardinal Campegius,[o] Andradius, Driedo,[p] Matthias Ugonius, Victoria, Celaia, and the bishop of Bitonto in the council of Trent.[q] Of all the Gallican theologians in this century, John Major alone held that the infallibility of general councils was a matter of pious opinion.[r]

Thus the whole body of Roman theologians in the sixteenth century held the infallibility of either the pope or a general council; and these different opinions were not then first invented, but had been held by the majority of the Latin theologians for two or three centuries. The Ultramontane opinion had been received by St. Anselm,[s] Robertus Paululus, J. Semeca, the author of the *glossa ordinaria* on Gratian's Decretum,[t] by Jacobus de Thermes,[u] Augustinus Triumphans,[v]

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i Bossuet, Appendix ad Def. Declar. lib. i. c. 1.

k Almain, De Auctor. Eccl. c. 10. Tract. de Potest. Eccl. c. 15, 16.

l Alphons. à Castro, lib. i. adv. Hæres. c. vi.

m Jod. Clichtovæus, Anti-Lutherus, Paris, 1524.

n Illyricus, Tract. de Potest. Summi Pontificis, 1523.

o Campegius, De Auctor. SS. Conciliorum.

p Andradius, De General. Concil. Auctor. lib. i. Driedo, De Eccl. Dogmat. lib. iv. c. 4.

q Paolo Sarpi's Council of Trent, by Courayer, t. i. p. 208.

r Joh. Major, Commentar. in Evang. S. Matthæi, referred to by Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 363, where he also says that some seem to have doubted the infallibility of general councils formerly, as we may collect from Cardinal de Alliaco, in quæst. in Vesperiis agitata, t. i. oper. Gerson. postr. edit. p. 622 et 3 part. de Eccl. Auctor. c. i.; also from Joannes Breviscoxa, Doctore Parisiens. Tract. de Fide Ecclesiæ, Rom. Pont. et Conc. general. t. i. oper. Gerson, p. 898. He also refers to Waldensis.

s Anselm, p. 41. 391. 430. oper. ed. Paris. 1675.

t Glossa in 24 qu. 1. *voce* quotiens ratio fidei.

u Tissier, Biblioth. Cistere. t. iv. p. 261.

v Augustinus Triumphans, Summa qu. i. art. i. qu. vi. art. vi. qu. x. art. i. iv.

Alexander Halensis,[w] by Thomas Aquinas "the angelical doctor,"[x] cardinal Turrecremata,[y] Thomas Waldensis,[z] Antoninus of Padua (who held it to be *de fide*), John Capistran, and many others. The Gallican opinion had been held by Michael de Cæsena,[a] in the fourteenth century, by cardinal Peter d'Ailly, Gerson,[b] Dionysius Carthusianus,[c] Nicholas de Clemangis, Æneas Sylvius before he was raised to the papal throne, Alphonsus Tostatus, Nicholas de Cusa. It was established by the great synods of Constance[d] and Basle,[e] and by the parliament of France assembled at Bourges in 1438.[f]

Such were the authorities on which the opinion of the supreme authority and infallibility of popes and general synods respectively rested: and hence it is not to be wondered at, that in the sixteenth century the whole Roman obedience embraced either one or the other of these opinions.

The opinion that a general council confirmed by a pope was *not infallible*, but needed the subsequent confirmation of the

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[w] "Apud Summum Pontificem est authoritas plena: cujus sanctioni contradicere non licet: sicut habetur 11 di. . . Anathemate innodatur, qui *dogmata*, mandata, interdicta, sanctiones, vel cætera *pro Catholica fide*, vel ecclesiastica disciplina . . . à Sedis Apostolicæ præsule salubriter promulgata contemnit, 25 qu. 2. *Si quis dogmata*."—Alexander Alensis, Summa Theologiæ, pars iv. qu. 32. art. 3.

[x] "Ad illius ergo authoritatem pertinet editio symboli, ad cujus authoritatem pertinet *finaliter determinare ea quæ sunt fidei ut ab omnibus inconcussa fide teneantur:* hoc autem pertinet ad authoritatem summi Pontificis, ad quem majores et difficiliores ecclesiæ quæstiones referuntur, ut dicitur in Decreto, dist. 17. c. multis," &c.—Aquinas, Secunda Secundæ, qu. i. art. x.

[y] Joh. de Turrecremata, Summa, lib. ii. c. 109, 110. lib. iii. c. 58.

[z] Thomas Waldensis, Doctrinale Fidei, lib. ii. c. 47, 48.

[a] Michael de Cæsena, Tractatus contra errores Papæ, c. 12.

[b] Gerson, Considerationes de Pace, cons. 4.

[c] Dionysius Carthus. Tract. de auctor. Papæ et Concilii, art. xxxii. fol. 342.

[d] Concil. Constant. Sess. iv. [e] Sessio ii.

[f] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. cvii. s. 104. Bossuet, Def. decl. cler. Gall.

universal church, had been held by Ockham in the fourteenth century,[g] and apparently by Waldensis[h] and Picus Mirandula[i] in the fifteenth; but in the sixteenth, it was only avowed on one occasion by the parliament of Paris,[k] and by the Lutherans and others who were esteemed heretics by those of the Roman obedience.

Under these circumstances, I deny positively, that the decrees of the synod of Trent can be regarded as judgments of the churches of the Roman obedience. They are at the utmost nothing but the decrees of the pope and 196 bishops assembled at Trent, not those of the majority of the Roman bishops and churches. The majority of those bishops and churches cannot justly be accused of heresy in accepting the decrees of the synod. The opinions universally prevalent, prevented them absolutely from exercising that right, or rather that solemn duty of judgment and examination, which would alone have made them fully responsible for the errors which they received. What the amount of those errors may be I do not here decide. Many things which appear to us to be unwisely expressed, and to convey heterodox meanings, have been explained by eminent Roman theologians in a tolerable sense. Nor do I here determine whether any thing contrary to the faith be found in the decrees of that synod: but at all events, we may believe that the churches of the Roman obedience did not obstinately and heretically receive the errors of Trent; but were compelled to do so by opinions, which, though unfounded, were not in themselves contrary to faith; that they submitted to what they conscientiously and not absurdly believed an infallible authority;

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[g] "Ex his, aliisque pluribus colligitur quia Concilium generale Papa confirmat, et ei auctoritatem præstat. Papa autem potest errare contra fidem: igitur etiam concilium generale potest errare contra fidem."—Ockham Dialogi, lib. iii. i. tract. iii. partis, c. 5.

[h] Thomas Waldensis, Doctrinale Fidei, lib. ii. c. 27.

[i] Picus Mirandula, Theor. iv.

[k] Paolo Sarpi, Concile de Trente par Courayer, t. i. p. 518.

that they were only restrained by a reverential though mistaken principle, from investigating the truth: and while we do justice to their general intention, we may wish that with the spread of more enlightened and discriminative views of the authority of the catholic church, they may be enabled to separate their own genuine and catholic faith, from the opinions which the synod of Trent unwisely intermingled with it.

The bishop of Mans informs us that "some" of the Roman theologians "are of opinion that the approbation of the church confers its whole authority on a general synod:"[1] were this opinion generally maintained by Roman theologians, and were the "approbation" understood in the sense of a *real* approbation, a *real* judgment with that authority which Jesus Christ has conferred on the successors of the apostles and the whole church: and were this principle applied by our estranged brethren to the synod of Trent and its reception among themselves; the happiest results to religion and to the church could not fail to ensue. Catholic truth could never be impaired by such an investigation, because even if the synod of Trent were not regarded as infallible, the great fabric of the faith would always rest securely on the basis of scripture, of catholic tradition, of the genuine œcumenical synods and universal judgments of the church.

Such results however must be rather the objects of wishes and prayers, than of hopes. The creed of pope Pius IV., which every Roman bishop and priest is obliged to profess on his appointment to any benefice, and which comprises an acknowledgment of the synod of Trent as œcumenical, and a profession of obedience to its decrees, forms an obstacle to the progress of more enlightened opinions, so great, that it appears almost insurmountable. It is this formulary which really binds on the Roman churches those opinions of which so many among them would gladly free themselves.

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1 "Quidam tamen theologi opinantur hanc ecclesiæ (dispersæ) approbationem, omnem auctoritatem concilio generali tribuere."—Tractatus de vera Ecclesia, p. 234. Cenomani, 1826.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARTICULAR SYNODS, AND OF THE ROMAN PONTIFFS IN CONTROVERSIES.

I HAVE already shown from scripture,[a] that the successors of the apostles in the ministry of the holy church, are peculiarly authorized to judge in controversies of religion. This power, which belongs equally to all bishops, is to be exercised not merely in œcumenical synods, but in provincial and national synods, and even by particular bishops.

SECTION I.

OF PARTICULAR SYNODS.

I shall first consider the authority of provincial and national synods. No one supposes that such synods are, by virtue of our Lord's promises, exempt from the possibility of error, even in faith: but it cannot be doubted that they have a considerable authority, when they decide questions regularly and in the mode which ought always to be observed in Christian synods; that is, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, prayer for divine assistance, diligent examination of the question proposed, and perfect freedom of suffrage. There is a great probability that such synods, consisting of bishops of the catholic church, will be guided into truth; for the Lord declared to his disciples, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and since "the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," it ought to be piously held that the same Spirit will assist them to maintain the truth.

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[a] See above, p. 95. 100, &c.

Such ought to be the persuasion of Christians generally: but on those who are more immediately related to the bishops of a synod, as sheep to their shepherds, as children to their spiritual parents, a special obligation devolves. For they are not merely bound to view such a synod with respect, and to extend the best and most charitable construction to all its proceedings, but they are obliged to hear and obey its instructions; for it is written, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account;"[b] and, as the martyr Cyprian observes, "Christ saith unto his apostles, and through them to all ministers who succeed them by vicarious ordinations, 'he that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.'"[c] The faithful are therefore bound to hear and believe their spiritual pastors assembled in a synod; and though it be true, that this does not prevent them from comparing the decrees of that synod with scripture and tradition, and in case of its being in error, from respectfully remonstrating; and in case of obstinate error against faith, from appealing to the catholic church elsewhere; yet this opposition is to be undertaken only under a sense of the peril of grievous sin, if it be not justified by most clear proof that the synod has taught what is contrary to the revealed truth. If this be manifestly proved, there is no obligation in the decrees of the synod: if it be not, there is no excuse for opposing them.

The brethren owe obedience to their own pastors, more than to the pastors of other churches, because the latter are not commissioned by God to be their ordinary teachers. The apostles, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, having established particular churches, and given power to presbyters over each church, established a special relation between those people and their own pastors, by which the latter were to "give account" for the "souls"[d] entrusted to their care. Hence, it

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[b] Heb. xiii. 17. [c] Cyprianus, epist. lxix. ed. Ben. [d] Heb. xiii. 17.

was obviously contrary to the divine will, that any pastor should intrude himself on the sphere of another's vocation. "God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints;"[e] but all must be confusion, if each pastor might instruct and guide the flock of another at pleasure, and each flock be thus in doubt who was its real pastor whom it should hear and obey. For this reason the universal church decreed, that no bishop or presbyter should dare to interfere with the clergy or people of another jurisdiction, under pain of being deposed or excommunicated.[f]

From this special relation between the faithful and their *own pastors*, it follows, that the decree of a provincial or national synod in matters of religion, ought to have more weight with the churches which it represents, than a contrary decree made by a foreign synod, even though that foreign synod be rather *more numerous*. For the obligation to hear and obey our own pastors is certain and imperative, while it is only probable that a larger synod of bishops may judge more correctly than a smaller; since the promises of Christ to preserve his church from error, can only be absolutely reckoned on where there is a judgment of the universal church, morally unanimous; but do not concern a small minority of bishops assembled in synod. Hence, the decisions of the English synods in 1562 and 1571, by which the Thirty-nine Articles of doctrine were made and confirmed, and which were approved by nearly sixty bishops of our provinces: these decisions, I say, ought to have had more weight with the catholics of these churches than any rival decisions said to have been made at Trent by a larger synod, especially since most of those decrees were actually made by a convention of forty or fifty bishops only; and since there was much probability, that the bishops who attended in greater numbers in the last sessions, and who then confirmed

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[e] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

[f] Concil. Ancyr. canon. 18; Nicen. 16; Sardic. 14. 18, 19; Antioch. 13. 22; African. 54; Apostol. 16. 36.

the decrees of the former sessions, did so without any synodical examination of the question. And the decrees of the English synods having been ever since received and professed by all the pastors of our churches, they still retain their special obligation on us.

The obligation of the faithful in our churches to revere the doctrines taught by their synods, appears from the admissions of our opponents. Delahogue says, that "the assent which the faithful in every diocese give to the doctrinal judgments of their bishop," "may and ought to be called *firm and absolute*, although revocable, because even the *deepest persuasion* may be diminished and vanish away, when it is not founded on an evident motive or an infallible authority."[g] Bellarmine says: "It is plain that a particular council, not expressly confirmed by the pope, causes an argument so probable, that it is *rash* not to acquiesce therein."[h] Tournely, having shown that Bellarmine and Maldonatus found the authority of provincial synods on the words of our Saviour, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," &c., remarks, that "it is not lawful for any one to resist provincial synods on the pretext that they are only particular councils, and of no infallible authority. Petrus Aurelius well explodes this device in his Defence of the Epistle of the bishops of France, in these words: "Which of the heretics ever eluded councils of bishops only on the pretence that they were not infallible? When did Novatus, Pelagius, and the many other heretics who were first condemned in provincial synods, argue thus? No one employed this subterfuge,"[i] &c.

II. We are now to inquire into the authority of the ancient provincial synods, as affecting the universal church; that is, whether any of their decrees are binding on us as judgments of the whole catholic church. Bossuet, and some other Roman

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[g] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 108.

[h] Bellarminus, De Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 10.

[i] Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. i. p. 357.

theologians allege, that the synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, and the synod of Orange against the semi-pelagians, were approved by the universal church, and thus are of equal authority with the œcumenical synods.[k] It seems to me, that the decrees of the ancient provincial synods are of more authority as directed against heresies, than as positively defining the truth.

If any doctrine was condemned as heretical by provincial synods, or even by particular churches; and the whole church immediately, and ever after, accounted those who maintained that doctrine as heretics: the judgment of the universal church was manifestly opposed to that doctrine. Thus Victor and the Roman church expelled Theodotus, Artemon, and their followers, who blasphemously taught that our Lord Christ was a mere man. Cerdo the Gnostic was rejected by the Roman church. Praxeas, who first taught that there was no distinction of persons in the blessed Trinity, was condemned in Rome and Africa. Noetus, who held the same heresy, was rejected from the church at Ephesus. Sabellius, who followed in their footsteps, was condemned by a council at Rome, and in Egypt. Paul of Samosata, for teaching that Christ was only a man, was expelled from the church by the synod of Antioch; as were the Novatians, who denied repentance to the lapsed, by another synod at the same place. The Eustathians, who blamed marriage and the use of meats, were condemned by a synod at Gangra: Photinus of Sirmium, who followed the Sabellian heresy, by councils at Antioch, Milan, and Sirmium: Apollinaris, who denied that our Lord possessed a human reasonable soul, by councils at Rome and Antioch: the Messalians, who esteemed the whole of religion to consist in prayer, who rejected the sacraments, and maintained the doctrine of sinless perfection, by councils at Antioch and in Pamphylia. The Pelagian heresy, denying original sin, and the need of divine grace, was rejected by the

[k] See above, p. 148.

synods of Carthage, Milevis, and several in the East; as the semi-pelagian was by the synod of Orange.

All these sentences were so far ratified and acted on in the universal church, that those who held the condemned doctrines, were accounted heretics by all Christians: but it does not appear that the positive definitions of these synods concerning religion were ever included by the universal church among those which authentically and authoritatively represented her faith. This privilege was reserved to the decrees of the œcumenical synods, which have always possessed a single and undivided authority in the catholic church. When Gregory the Great professed his adherence to the œcumenical synods as to the four gospels, he added nothing of provincial synods. Vincentius Lirinensis only appeals to the œcumenical synods in proof of the doctrines of the church. The oath taken by the bishops of Rome professes obedience only to the œcumenical synods; nor do the oriental bishops receive any other at their ordination. In fine, the œcumenical synods themselves appeal only to the authority of preceding œcumenical synods. It appears to me altogether very evident, that the catholic church has always viewed the decrees of provincial synods, however laudable and orthodox they may be in themselves, yet as of an authority altogether different from that of œcumenical synods.

With regard to synods rejected by the universal church, as all the synods of the Arians and other heretics were, it is needless to say, that they are of no weight. Councils also which were met by counter decisions are not of irrefragable authority; as, for instance, the synods of Carthage, of Iconium, and Synnada, in the question of heretical baptism, were counteracted by the decrees of a Roman synod, by the council of Arles, and by an African synod; and the question has remained in some degree disputed ever since. It should be observed also, that no synod held in the east or west since the division in 1054, can even pretend to represent the judgment of the universal church.

SECTION II.

THE AUTHORITY OF PAPAL AND PATRIARCHAL DECREES.

The archbishop of Rome being one of the successors of the apostles, had by divine right the power of making judgments in faith; and being bishop of the principal church in Christendom, and patriarch of several provinces, his judgment could not fail to have more weight in the universal church than that of any bishop or metropolitan. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople also were so nearly, if not entirely, equal in dignity and power to the patriarchs of Rome, that it is difficult to draw any distinction between the authority of their judgments. It is clear that no judgments in faith made by the Roman, or by any other patriarch, since the division of the Eastern and Western churches, can be in any degree binding, as representing the judgment of the catholic church. Previously to that time the decrees of the Roman pontiffs were, with few exceptions, made in provincial or patriarchal synods; and as I have already observed, such synods have never been held equal in authority to the œcumenical synods. But at all events, the decrees of the several patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, &c. in matters of faith, however they were made, were never included by the universal church among those high and sacred decisions which exhibited the judgment of the whole Christian world. The church indeed viewed with respect whatever emanated from such great bishops; examined their judgments by the light of scripture and tradition; approved those that were good, without making them rules of her faith; rejected those that were heterodox; and, in fine, reserved to scripture, to catholic tradition, and to the decisions of the œcumenical synods, the supreme and *undivided* sway over the belief of all nations.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE ARTICLES OF THE SYNOD OF LONDON, 1562.

The Thirty-nine Articles of religion were, as it is well known, agreed upon by the metropolitans, the bishops, and the whole clergy in the synod of London, 1562. In the first session (January 19), the most reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, as we learn from the Acts, "proposed that the articles published in the synod of London in the time of king Edward VI. should be given to certain select theologians of the lower house of convocation, to be diligently viewed, examined, considered, and, as they may judge fit, corrected and reformed, and to be presented in the next session."[a] "These articles concerning the holy religion of Christ, were treated of, always with previous prayer, on the 20th, 22d, 25th, 27th days of the month of January, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, and in St. Paul's church, London; until, on the 29th of the same month, certain articles of orthodox faith were unanimously agreed on by the bishops, whose names are subscribed to them."[b] The articles themselves are then inserted in the acts, after which the subscriptions of the bishops follow in this form: "These arti-

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[a] "Ulterius proposuit, quod Articuli, in synodo Londinensi tempore nuper Regis Edwardi sexti editi, traditi sint quibusdam aliis viris ex cœtu dictæ domus inferioris ad hoc etiam electis, ut eos diligenter perspiciant, examinent, et considerent, ac prout eis visum fuerit, corrigant et reforment, ac in proxima sessione etiam exhibeant."—Wilkins, Concilia, t. iv. 232.

[b] "De hisce articulis sacrosanctam Christi religionem concernentibus, 20. 22. 25. 27. diebus mensis Januarii tam in ecclesia collegiata D. Petri West. quam in ecclesiæ D. Pauli London. domo capitulari, præmissis semper precibus, tractatum fuit: donec 29 die ejusdem mensis tandem super quibusdam articulis orthodoxæ fidei inter episcopos, quorum nomina eis subscribuntur, unanimiter convenit; quorum quidem articulorum tenores sequuntur," &c. Ibid. p. 233.

cles of Christian faith, containing in the whole nineteen pages, &c. . . . We the archbishops and bishops of both provinces of the realm of England, legitimately assembled in provincial synod, do receive and profess; and by the subscription of our hands, do approve, as true and orthodox; on the 29th day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord MDLXII., according to the computation of the church of England; and the fifth year of the most illustrious princess Elizabeth."[c] Then follow the signatures of both archbishops and all the bishops. The clergy afterwards subscribed in this form: "Those whose names follow, have subscribed with their own hands to the book of articles transmitted by the most reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of the province of Canterbury, to the lower house of convocation, February 5, MDLXII."

In 1571 the book of articles was examined, corrected, and subscribed in the synod;[d] and the archbishops and bishops of both provinces enacted canons, by which all persons obtaining faculties as *preachers*, were bound first to subscribe the articles approved in the synod, and promised to uphold and defend the doctrine contained in them, as most accordant to the truth of God's word.[e] Another canon enjoined the same sub-

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[c] "Hos articulos fidei Christianæ, continentes in universum 19 paginas, &c. . . . . Nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciæ regni Angliæ, in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profitemur, et ut veros, atque orthodoxos, manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus approbamus 29 die mensis Januarii A. D. secundum computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ MDLXII. et illustrissimæ principis Elizabethæ quinto."—Ibid. p. 234.

[d] Wilkins, Concilia, t. iv. p. 261, 262.

[e] "Episcopus quisque ante calendas Septembris proximas, advocabit ad se omnes publicos concionatores . . . . deinde delectu illorum prudenter facto, . . . illis novas facultates ultro dabit; ita tamen ut prius subscribant articulus christianæ religionis publice in synodo approbatis, fidemque dent, se velle tueri et defendere doctrinam eam, quæ in illis continetur, ut consentientissimam veritati verbi divini."—Ibid. p. 263. "Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Tes-

scription on all persons to be admitted into holy orders:[f] a regulation which was also made at the same time by the act of the civil legislature.[g] The synod of London, in 1603 or 1604, again solemnly confirmed and subscribed these articles;[h] and enacted that every person to be ordained should subscribe a declaration of his approbation of the articles.[i] In 1634, the national synod of Ireland also adopted them; and they were subsequently accepted by the synods of Scotland and of America, as the profession of those catholic churches.

The principal questions concerning the articles may be reduced to four. I. The nature of the articles; II. the right of the church to demand a profession of them from her ministers; III. the rule by which they are to be interpreted; and IV. the meaning of subscription.

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tamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina catholici patres et veteres episcopi collegerint. Et quoniam articuli illi religionis christianæ, in quos consensum est ab episcopis in legitima et sancta synodo, jussu atque auctoritate serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie selecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum cœlesti doctrina quæ in illis continetur, per omnia congruunt. Quoniam etiam liber publicarum precum, et liber de inauguratione archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum, nihil continent ab illa ipsa doctrina alienum; quicumque mittantur ad docendum populum, illorum articulorum auctoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis, sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt. Qui secus fecerit, et contraria doctrina populum turbaveret, excommunicabitur."—Can. de Conciatoribus.—Ibid. p. 267.

[f] "Quivis minister ecclesiæ antequam in sacram functionem ingrediatur, subscribet omnibus articulis de religione Christiana, in quos consensum est in synodo; et publice ad populum, ubicumque episcopus jusserit, patefaciet conscientiam suam, quid de illis articulis et universa doctrina sentiat."—Ibid. p. 265.

[g] Act 13 Eliz. c. 12.

[h] Bennet's Essay on XXXIX. Articles, p 358; Wilkins, Concilia, t. iv. p. 379.

[i] Canon xxxvi.

SECTION I.

ON THE NATURE OF THE ARTICLES.

In considering the nature of the articles, we must guard equally against the opposite errors of supposing that none, or that all of them are matters of faith. The former error would involve a denial of the necessity of belief in some of the most holy doctrines of Revelation; for although the articles be human compositions, the doctrine itself which some of them convey is divine. For instance, the doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the sufferings, death, resurrection, atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, original sin, and other doctrines manifestly contained in the articles, are matters of faith, taught by Scripture, by the decrees of œcumenical synods, and by catholic tradition, and which it would be heretical to dispute or deny. Therefore, to assert that none of the articles contain matters of faith, would be pernicious and anti-christian.

On the other hand, if it were asserted that *all* the doctrines of the articles are matters of faith, so that whoever held a different opinion in any point, is to be viewed as a heretic; we should not only be obliged to condemn rashly and uncharitably a large part of the Christian world, but should be unsupported by the principles of the church of England herself, and opposed to the sentiment of our theologians generally. The articles comprise not only doctrines of the faith, but theological and historical verities, and even pious and catholic opinions.

1. It is *historically and theologically true*, that the particular churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred in faith. It is *theologically true*, that the book of consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, contains all things necessary to a valid ordination; that the bishop of Rome has no jurisdiction in the realm of England; that the Homilies contain sound doctrine. All these are absolutely certain truths; but they are not properly articles of faith, necessary to salvation, because they all involve questions of fact and of human reasoning,

which are not self-evident, and on which men may be divided, without doubting the doctrine of Revelation itself. *E. g.* If some members of foreign churches doubted whether the book of Homilies does in fact contain sound doctrine, through some mistake of its meaning in some point; and even supposed that it contradicts the revealed truth; this would be an error not a heresy, because the revealed truth itself would be still believed. It would also be a scandalous error to deny that our bishops are validly consecrated, and one which the church could not permit any of her members to advance; but if some persons, over whom she had no jurisdiction, should for a time fall into this error, imagining from want of sufficient information, that some essential rite was omitted in the English ordinations, there would indeed be every reason to lament their very injurious error, but not to esteem them absolutely heretics. In the same way we should not account the oriental churches heretical in refusing to approve the expressions in our creeds of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father, because through a mistake of fact, they suppose that these expressions interfere with the doctrine of one principle in the ever-blessed Trinity.

2. It is a *pious, probable, and catholic opinion*, that the wicked eat not the flesh of Christ in the eucharist, because our Lord himself said, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life:" but since these words may possibly refer to a *worthy* participation in the Lord's Supper, and since many in the church have held that the wicked do in fact receive the body of Christ, though to their condemnation; this doctrine is taught by the church of England as the more pious and probable opinion, not as a matter of faith, necessary to be believed by all men; for this would amount to a condemnation, not only of the Roman churches, but of the Lutherans, as heretical; which has never been the doctrine of this church.

Thus the articles comprehend not only doctrines of faith and morals, but historical and theological verities, and pious, catholic, and probable opinions.

This is the sentiment of our theologians, Hall,[k] Laud,[l] Bramhall,[m] Stillingfleet,[n] Sparrow,[o] Bull,[p] Burnet,[q] Nicholls,[r] Randolph,[s] Cleaver,[t] &c., who maintain that all the doctrines of the articles are not fundamental or necessary to salvation, or articles of faith.

SECTION II.

ON THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH TO DEMAND ADHESION TO THE ARTICLES.

I shall consider first, the right of the church to demand from those who are to be ordained, the acknowledgment of articles of faith; secondly, her right to demand from them the profession of the other truths and opinions comprised in the Thirty-nine Articles.

I. The common obligation imposed on all Christians of "contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints;"[u] and their duty of "observing all things which Christ commanded them;"[v] of "remaining stablished in the faith as they have been taught,"[w] and of holding no communion with those "who bring not the doctrine of Christ;"[x] infer the

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[k] Hall, Catholic Propositions, cited by Bull, Works, vol. ii. p. 212. ed. Burton.

[l] Laud, Conference, s. 14.

[m] Bramhall, Schism guarded, Works, p. 348.

[n] Stillingfleet, Grounds of Protestant Religion, part i. ch. 2.

[o] Sparrow, Preface to Collection of Canons, &c.

[p] Bull, Vindication of the Church of England, Works, vol. ii. p. 211. ed. Burton.

[q] Burnet, Exposition of XXXIX. Articles, p. 7. ed. 1737.

[r] Nicholls, Commentary on the Articles.

[s] T. Randolph, Charge on the Reasonableness of requiring Subscription, 1771.

[t] Cleaver, Sermon on the design and formation of the Articles, 1802. p. 1.

[u] Jude 3. [v] Matt. xxviii. 20. [w] Col. ii. 7. [x] 2 John 9, 10.

necessity of soundness in faith on the part of those, who are appointed to be their teachers. The very office of "a minister of Christ, a steward of the mysteries of God,"[y] "a pastor and teacher" of Christ's flock,[z] implies, as one of its first requisites, a belief in the doctrine of Christ "It is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful."[a] He who is to be "an example to the believers in faith;"[b] he whose "faith" they are to "follow;"[c] he whom they are to "obey" as their "ruler"[d] in things spiritual; ought to be able and willing to witness sound and uncorrupted doctrine. Accordingly, the direction of the Apostle Paul to Timothy is: "The things thou hast heard of me . . . the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also:"[e] and his direction for the choice of a bishop includes the condition of his "holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught; that he may be able by *sound doctrine* both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."[f] For which reason among others, St. Paul enjoined Timothy to "lay hands suddenly on no man."[g] Hence arises the right or duty of examining the faith of those who are designed for the sacred ministry; a duty which has always been actually fulfilled by the church, and which all sects likewise acknowledge and act on.

The principle of examination being once admitted, the particular method is of minor importance. Verbal or written declarations or professions of faith made by the candidate; his personal examination by way of question and answer; or the presentation of a formulary by the church to be subscribed by him, are merely different modes of attaining the same object, any one of which the church may adopt as she judges most expedient.

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[y] 1 Cor. iv. 1.
[z] Eph. iv. 11.
[a] 1 Cor. iv. 2.
[b] 1 Tim. iv. 12.
[c] Heb. xiii. 7.
[d] Heb. xiii. 17.
[e] 2 Tim. ii. 2.
[f] Tit. i. 9.
[g] 1 Tim. v. 22.

Thus the church is justified in demanding from candidates for orders a subscription to the doctrines of *faith* contained in the Thirty-nine Articles.

II. Besides the duty of preserving the faith revealed by Jesus Christ, the church is also bound to maintain peace and unity among her members.

The prayer of Christ, that his disciples might be "perfectly one,"[h] and the apostolic injunction, "that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment,"[i] obviously render it desirable that controversies on points which are not articles of faith, and which generate party spirit and mutual alienation among the faithful, should not be permitted to continue always in the church, diverting the attention of the brethren from the sacred duties of religion to superfluous and interminable wranglings. The church has a duty to Christian peace and harmony, as well as to revealed truth; and in points where the catholic faith is not compromised, she is bound to adopt measures to prevent, as far as possible, any disturbance among the brethren. In such cases the church may impose silence on opposite parties under pain of excommunication, or if she judges it more conducive to peace, she may adopt the opinion she judges more probable, demand acquiescence from her ministers, and suppress all open maintenance of the contrary opinion, without condemning those who privately hold it. This power of suppressing needless disputes is certainly vested in the church, for otherwise she would be exposed without remedy to the most imminent danger of destruction from ignorant and fanatical incendiaries, who, proud of their imaginary wisdom, and secretly excited by the evil spirit of earthly ambition, might, in their frenzy, consummate the most irreparable mischiefs. The church cannot be without authority even to expel from her communion those who should obstinately offend against

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[h] John xvii. 11—23. [i] 1 Cor. i. 10.

charity, by maintaining as articles of faith what are only matters of probability or opinion, and by charging with heresy those brethren who do not submit to their ignorant or fanatical dogmatism. But if she judges it more advisable, in such a case, to adopt the milder measure of requiring from those who are admitted to sacred orders, a sincere adhesion to the opinion she judges most pious and probable; no one, except he who is inveterately prejudiced, can deny that she exercises a laudable and pious discretion. If indeed that opinion were contrary to *faith*, it would be unlawful either to impose or to adhere to it: but if it be not opposed to faith, then the church is amply justified, in case of protracted and dangerous controversies, in acting as I have described.

Thus the church of England is justified in exacting from her ministers a sincere adhesion even to matters of *opinion* in the Thirty-nine Articles.

Such a proceeding ought to be altogether free from any imputation of an undue assumption of authority, or of being calculated in any degree to impair the unity of the catholic church, or to divide our churches from those in which different opinions may prevail. Members of the Roman obedience especially should not impute any fault to us in this conduct, because it has been adopted with much utility among themselves. Thus the controversies concerning predestination and grace, which had violently disturbed the Roman churches, were prudently suppressed by Sixtus V. in 1588, who forbad any disputation on those points, whether in public or private, leaving the contending parties in possession of their respective opinions. In the following century, the disputes on the same subject between the Jesuits and Dominicans, were also suppressed by Paul V.

The proceedings in the Roman churches on the controversy concerning the immaculate conception, or freedom of the holy Virgin from original sin, afford a direct justification of the church of England in the present point. It is admitted by all Roman theologians, in accordance with the several decisions of the Roman pontiffs and of the synod of Trent, that the immaculate

conception is not a point of faith, but a pious and catholic opinion. Nevertheless, in consequence of the violent disputes and disturbances on this subject, the Roman pontiffs adopted this opinion, and imposed silence on all who did not believe it, while various universities and churches exacted from their members an adhesion to the doctrine. Thus Sixtus IV. in 1483, having approved the doctrine of the immaculate conception, imposed excommunication *ipso facto* on all who taught that either that or the contrary opinion was heretical. Pius V. in 1570, decreed that whoever should dispute publicly on this question on either side, should be suspended *ipso jure*, and *ipso facto* deprived of every degree, dignity, and administration, and for ever disabled from the like. Paul V. in 1616, forbad any one under the same penalties to assert in public lectures, sermons, conclusions, or other public acts, that the Virgin was conceived in original sin. Gregory XV. in 1622, extended the same prohibition to discourses and writings. Alexander VII. in 1661, again approved the opinion of the immaculate conception, which, he says, is adopted by many celebrated universities, and by almost all catholics. He renewed the decrees of Sixtus IV., Paul V., and Gregory XV., published in favour of it; and in addition, declared that all persons who should interpret them so as to frustrate the favour shown by them to the said opinion, or who should dispute against it, or in any way, directly or indirectly, by word or writing, speak, preach, or discourse against it, either by assertion, by bringing arguments against it, and leaving them unanswered, or in any other imaginable way, should not only suffer the penalties denounced by Sixtus IV., but be deprived *ipso facto* of all power to preach and publicly teach, and of all voice, active or passive, in any elections.[k]

Yet the doctrine thus firmly upheld, was admitted all along

[k] See Hoornbeeck, Examen Bullæ Urb. VIII. p. 250, &c. ed. 1631. All the above particulars are stated by Ligorio, Theologia Moralis, lib. vii. c. ii. n. 244—263; and by Eusebius Amort, Theologia Eclectica, Moralis, et Scholastica, Tract. de Peccat. Origin. t. vii. p. 142—160. ed. 1752.

to be only a matter of pious *opinion*. The obvious justification of these proceedings was, that they were necessary for the peace of the church. On the same principle alone, is it possible to justify the university of Paris for its continual practice even in the time of Bossuet, of exacting an *oath* from every person who was to be received into the faculty of theology, to uphold the doctrine of the immaculate conception:[l] a rule which in the Spanish Universities is extended to every graduate, and which is even enforced in all corporations and guilds, civil and religious, on the admission of new members.[m] The Roman churches in sanctioning these practices, evince their belief that it is lawful to require assent to a pious and probable opinion, provided it is not imposed as an article of faith. Bossuet justifies the oath prescribed by the faculty of theology at Paris, only as implying a promise to hold the opinion of the immaculate conception as *the more probable*, or at most, as theologically certain.[n]

Hence, altogether it is evident, that the Romans cannot object to the principle of requiring adhesions to pious and catholic opinions, when the peace of the church would otherwise be endangered.

III. If the church has a right to suppress disturbances within her borders by exacting adhesions to pious and catholic opinions, she has still more right to prescribe the adoption of *theological verities certainly true:* more especially, if the denial of those verities involves condemnation of herself as heretical or sinful, opposition to her legitimate regulations for the welfare of religion, denial of her rightful authority, or in-

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[l] See Richerius, Hist. Conc. Gen. lib. iii. p. 124, 125. 129; Bossuet, Œuvres, t. xv. p. 20.

[m] See Doblado's Letters from Spain, p. 25.

[n] Bossuet, Œuvres, t. xxxviii. p. 315—320, where he meets the difficulties as to this oath raised by M. Bertin. For a further discussion of these difficulties see Launoii Præscriptiones de Conceptu B. Mariæ Virg. Opera, t. i. ed. Colon. Allobr. 1731.

fringement of those liberties which she holds immediately from our Lord Jesus Christ. If the denial of certain truths, not actually revealed, lead to these results; and if there be imminent danger of the growth of doctrines so injurious, then the church is bound to take effectual measures for the suppression of controversies on these points within her own borders, in order that the cause of equity, of truth, and of enlightened piety may be sustained, and that the souls of the faithful may not be needlessly disturbed, and their piety scandalized by rash and dangerous disputations. And still more is she bound to see, that those who are weak and infirm in the faith, and who have not their senses exercised to discern good and evil, shall not be caused to fall away from the catholic church into schism or heresy, by the unsettled doctrine of any of her own ministers.

To apply this to our articles of religion. If any one asserted the infallibility of the Roman church, he would necessarily condemn these catholic churches as heretical, because they do not receive all points which the Roman church has decided. If he asserted the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff over the church of England, he would infringe the rights of that church, besides condemning her for resuming the powers which she had delegated to the Roman patriarch. If he asserted the doctrine of purgatory, the worship of images, &c. he would render nugatory the regulations of these catholic churches in such points: besides charging them with error or heresy, and doing an injury to sound and pure religion. If he denied the power of national churches to ordain and change rites and ceremonies, he would deny the lawfulness of our existing worship, &c. If the validity of the form of ordination was disputed or doubted, the minds of the faithful would be needlessly disturbed. I might proceed to show that the same evil results arise from contradictions to the other theological verities contained in the articles: and it is plain that these are results of such a kind as no branch of the catholic church could permit her own ministers to bring about. For this reason the church of England

most justly requires all who are to minister in sacred things, to profess sincerely the theological verities contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, which are essentially necessary to her own peace, security, and liberty. And on the same principle she denounces excommunication *ipso facto* against any even of her lay members, who shall presume to disturb the peace of the church by asserting that any of her articles are superstitious or erroneous.[o]

It is not from any hostility to other churches, nor from any fretful jealousy of her rights, that she provides against foreign aggressions on her liberty; but in obedience to the apostolic precept, "stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,"[p] and admonished by the apostle's conduct to those "false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage." "To whom," says the apostle, "*we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour*, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."[q] We are fully persuaded by experience, of the wisdom of the holy synod of Nice, which decreed that "ancient customs should be retained," and "the privileges of churches be preserved;"[r] and of the accordant judgment of the holy synod of Ephesus, that "every church should preserve the rights which it possessed from the beginning" . . . "lest the canons of the fathers be transgressed, and the pride of worldly domination should come in under the guise of the sacred ministry; and lest we should imperceptibly lose the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ purchased for us with his own blood."[s]

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[o] Canon v. A.D. 1603. Du Pin says; "Si privatus quispiam adversus plurium ecclesiarum aut etiam adversus ecclesiæ suæ consuetudinem insurgat, merito punitur et excommunicatur, ac schismaticus audit, ut sexcentis ostendi posset exemplis."—De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 268. ed. 1686.

[p] Gal. v. 1. [q] Gal. ii. 4, 5.

[r] Canon vi. Harduin. Conc. t. i. p. 325.

[s] Decretum de Episcopis Cypri.—Harduin. t. i. p. 1619.

But I proceed to show, that the principle of exacting adhesions to doctrines such as I have mentioned, is also adopted by the Roman churches. The Ultramontane churches required their instructors to maintain the Ultramontane doctrines: the Gallican imposed the Gallican doctrines on theirs. De Barral, archbishop of Tours says, that Almain, who lived at the end of the fifteenth century, testifies that, "as at Rome no one was permitted publicly to sustain the doctrine of the school of Paris, so in the Sorbonne it was not allowed to defend that of the Ultramontanes."[t] He afterwards speaks thus: "At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the laws of a strict and rigorous policy prohibited at Rome the maintenance of the doctrine of the school of Paris, while at the Sorbonne it was not permitted to sustain the Ultramontane opinions. I say laws of policy, and of a policy purely temporal, although at Rome they emanated from the authority of the sovereign pontiff; for the laws of the church permitted equally the maintenance of the two opinions, neither of which was regarded as contrary to the dogmas of the catholic church. These laws of temporal policy are known to us by the uniform testimony of the contemporary theologians, particularly James Almain and John Major, from whom passages have been cited. The canonist Navarrus informs us, that at the end of the sixteenth century these laws subsisted in all their force, since, in his time, one of these opinions was maintained *exclusively* at Paris, and the other at Rome. In good faith, does the anonymous writer think, that under the pontificate of Innocent XI. it would have been lawful for a Roman theologian to teach or sustain publicly that the popes are not infallible nor superior to general councils? Let him only recollect the interdict signified to the Père Buhy by this inflexible pope, for having sustained at Paris propositions incontestably true, or at least evidently tolerated by the church."[u]

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[t] De Barral, Défense des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, p. 77. ed. 1817.

[u] De Barral, p. 171.

There cannot be any doubt of the truth of these statements: and thus we find that while in the Roman church no one was permitted to infringe the supposed privileges of the Roman pontiff by denying his infallibility, his superiority to general councils, &c.; the opposite doctrines were equally prohibited in the Gallican church, lest her rights and liberties should be exposed to invasion by the popes. Therefore, the church of England is equally justified in prohibiting the maintenance of doctrines which tend to the subversion of her liberties or maxims: and whether this be done by simple injunction, or by demanding the profession of the true doctrine on these points, is merely a question as to the mode of effecting her object, not as to the object itself.

But the conduct of the Gallican church in the seventeenth century affords a precise parallel to that of the English in the preceding century. The Roman pontiffs having shown a disposition to infringe on the liberties of France in 1681, forty bishops, after a lengthened investigation of all the circumstances, petitioned king Louis XIV. to assemble a national council, or general convocation, "in which the church of France, represented by her deputies, might examine, and adopt resolutions suitable to the important matters in debate."[v] "The king, in deference to the request of the bishops, permitted the general assembly or convocation of all the clergy of the kingdom, and in consequence ordered the convocation of the provincial assemblies, in order to give 'the necessary powers to those who should be deputed to the general assembly, to examine and deliberate on the matters contained in the proces-verbal of the assembly of bishops held previously.' Thus all the ecclesiastical provinces were assembled, and gave to their deputies, as well of the first as of the second order, procurations conveying power to deliberate on all the subjects mentioned. We see, in effect, by the discourse of the president,

[v] De Barral, p. 123.

on the day of the first session of the general assembly, that the deputies are assembled for three things, '1° for the promotion of peace, 2° for the observance of the canons of the church, 3° to maintain our maxims; and that this plan is traced out for them in the procurations of the provinces.' The desire of all the clergy of the kingdom for the maintenance of the maxims of France, was even so formal, that the provinces, 'by a unanimous consent, borne in all the procurations, demand that the assembly should labour to confirm the maxims and the liberty of the Gallican church."[w]

Thus solemnly convened, and vested with these specific powers, the general assembly of the Gallican church met in 1682,[x] and after due deliberation agreed on the celebrated declaration comprising four *articles*, which formed the doctrine of their churches; viz. that the pope has no power over princes in temporal matters; that princes are not subject in temporals to any ecclesiastical power; that they cannot by the authority of the keys directly or indirectly be deposed; nor their subjects absolved from their faith and obedience, or their oath of allegiance; that the decrees of the synod of Constance concerning the superiority of a general synod to the pope shall remain in force and unshaken; and that those who infringe their authority, or wrest their meaning only to the time of schism, are disapproved by the Gallican church; that the exercise of the papal power is to be regulated by the canons of the universal church; that the ancient customs and institutions of the Gallican church shall remain unshaken; in fine, that the judgment of the Roman see in matters of faith is not infallible.[y]

The general assembly having agreed on these articles, ad-

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[w] Ibid. p. 124, 125.

[x] "Nusquam visus est in Gallia cœtus episcoporum et presbyterorum numerosior, virtutibus ac scientia commendatior, inquit D. de Bausset, in historia Bossuet (t. ii. p. 121)."—Bouvier, De Vera Eccl. p. 367.

[y] See Bouvier, De Vera Eccl. p. 369; De Barral, p. 40, &c.; Leslie, Case stated between the Church of Rome, &c.

dressed an encyclical letter to all the bishops of France, informing them of the result of their deliberations, and transmitting the "*Articles of their doctrine*," in order that by the unanimous approbation of all the bishops of France, they may "become to the faithful, venerable and imperishable canons of the Gallican church."[z] The assembly, of which the great Bossuet was a conspicuous member, thus evidently expressed its belief that the general consent of the churches of France, would in fact invest these articles with canonical authority. And those churches, thus fully aware of the result of their conduct, did in fact, without any opposition, unanimously approve the four articles. As the bishop of Mans observes: "All the Gallican clergy morally *subscribed* to them." Thus they were invested with the authority of the whole Gallican church; and as such all the Gallican theologians defended them up to the French revolution, and in 1765, the assembly of the clergy caused them to be reprinted and sent to every diocese in France.[b]

Thus far we have seen the ecclesiastical authority of these

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[z] "Rogamus porro fraternitatem pietatemque vestram, reverendissimi præsules, ut quondam concilii Constantinopolitani primi patres rogabant Romanæ synodi episcopos, ad quos synodalia sua gesta mittebant; ut de iis quæ ad ecclesiæ Gallicanæ perpetuo sartam tectam conservandam pacem explicuimus, nobis congratulemini, et idem nobiscum sentientes, eam quam communi consilio divulgandam esse censuimus, doctrinam, in vestris singulis ecclesiis, atque etiam universitatibus et scholis vestræ pastorali curæ commissis, aut apud vestras diœceses constitutis, ita procuretis admitti ut *nihil unquam ipsi contrarium doceatur*. Sic eveniet ut, quemadmodum Romanæ synodi patrum consensione Constantinopolitana universalis et œcumenica synodus effecta est, ita et communi nostrum omnium sententia, noster consessus fiat *nationale totius regni concilium*, et quos ad vos mittimus *doctrinæ nostræ articuli*, fidelibus venerandi et nunquam intermorituri *ecclesiæ Gallicanæ canones evadent*."—Epistola Conventus Cler. Gall. ad Univers. Eccl. Gall. præsules. De Barral, p. 423, 424.

[a] "Omnis clerus Gallicanus *moraliter ei* (declarationi) *subscripsit*."—Bouvier, De Vera Eccl. p. 372.

[b] De Barral, p. 360.

articles, let us now see their confirmation by the state. In 1682, Louis XIV. issued an edict commanding them to be registered in all parliaments, universities, faculties of theology and canon law in the kingdom, forbidding all clergy, secular and regular, from teaching or writing any thing contrary to the doctrine of these articles, ordering that all persons chosen to teach theology in universities, shall *subscribe the same* previously, and teach the doctrine explained there; that where there are several professors, one of them shall every year teach the said doctrine, and where there is but one, he shall be obliged to teach it every third year; that no one shall be admitted to degrees in theology or canon law unless he sustains the said doctrine in one of his theses. In fine, he exhorts and enjoins all the archbishops and bishops to employ their authority to cause this doctrine to be taught throughout the whole extent of their dioceses.[c]

Such was the authority of the articles of the church of France in 1682, presenting a perfect parallel to that of the English articles in the preceding century. Both were made and confirmed by a national church: each comprised the doctrine and maxims of a national church: each sustained the liberties of a national church: each was designed by its authors to be a rule of doctrine: each was confirmed by the temporal power, made a part of the law of the land, and to be subscribed by those who were to teach theology. It is true that the Gallican church did not oblige all the clergy to subscribe their articles: but she sanctioned their subscription by those who were to *teach the clergy*, which was in fact accomplishing the same object indirectly.

Another striking point of resemblance is, that as the church of England was slandered and traduced as schismatical, under the false pretence that she put forward all her articles as matters of faith; so the Gallican clergy were styled heretics and schismatics, and incurred the most furious opposition from the pope and all the Ultramontane party, under the very same pretence.

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[c] Ibid. p. 419, 420.

Bossuet and the Gallican theologians justified themselves by declaring that "the clergy do not propose the articles of their declaration as dogmas, which it is necessary to believe: they propose them because they believe them certain, conformable to the common and ordinary doctrine of the Gallican church, useful to the universal church, and drawn from ancient sources."[d] This justified them in the opinion of all reasonable members of the Roman obedience; but it is in vain that all our most eminent theologians have again and again protested the very same thing of our articles: the old calumny is perpetuated against us by a spirit of ignorance or malevolence, which seems incapable of amelioration. One reason of this distinction perhaps may be, that the church of England has not been intimidated or deluded by the outcries of the papal party, so as to waver in her resolution to uphold her own liberties and the truth: while in France symptoms of apprehension and concession were manifested. Thus in 1692, Louis XIV. wrote to the pope Innocent XII. to inform him that he had directed the execution of the clauses in his decree which had given offence, to be suspended.[e] Several of the clergy named to bishoprics by Louis XIV., and to whom the popes had refused institution unless they retracted the articles of the assembly of 1682, at which they had been present, addressed a letter to Innocent XII. in which they declared that the articles of that assembly should be held as "*not decreed*."[f] The expression is equivocal, and may imply as Bossuet,[g] De Barral,[h] Bouvier,[i] and others assert, that the Gallican articles

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[d] Bossuet, Append. ad Defens. Decl. Cler. Gall. lib. i. c. i. De Barral, p. 127.

[e] De Barral, Pièces Justificatives, n. ix.

[f] "Quidquid in iisdem comitiis circa ecclesiasticam potestatem et pontificiam auctoritatem decretum censeri potuit, pro non decreto habemus et habendum esse declaramus. . . Mens quippe nostra non fuit quidquam decernere."—Bouvier, p. 373.

[g] Bossuet, Gallia Orthodoxa, s. 6. [h] De Barral, p. 354.

[i] Bouvier, De Vera Eccl. p. 373.

were "not defined as matters of faith;" still it was apparently a concession to the papal power, and has been represented by the Ultramontanes as a recantation.

Notwithstanding the complimentary expressions of Louis XIV., however, the four articles "were taught by professors in all the universities of France, and almost all theologians who treated of the church in their writings, maintained them."[k] They have ever since remained the law of France. Bouvier says that, as the edict of Louis XIV. in 1682, "was not expressly revoked, the parliaments always considered it as a law properly so called, even to the beginning of the French revolution; and strictly attended to its *observance*."[l] In the organic articles enacted by the French government in 1801, there was an express provision that the four Gallican articles should be acknowledged by all heads of seminaries. The same provision was made by the Emperor Napoleon in establishing the university of France in 1808.[m] An imperial edict in 1810, declared these articles the law of the empire, and ordered them to be observed by all archbishops, bishops, universities, directors of seminaries, and schools of theology.[n] The Bourbons on their restoration, ordered them to be taught. The French ministers of the Interior obliged the directors of seminaries to *subscribe* a *promise* to teach the doctrine contained in these articles. In 1826, the royal court of Paris, declared that they formed part of the fundamental laws of the kingdom.[o] Such, in fact, was the judgment of the civil power; though Bouvier, bishop of Mans, did not see how the Gallican declaration could have the force of a civil law.[p] However, this prelate in reply to the question, "whether it is lawful to *subscribe* this declaration," observes: "First, it is certain, as we have said, that it is altogether lawful to hold and teach the doctrine contained in it: it does not ap-

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[k] Ibid. p. 375.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Mémoires Eccl. de France, t. ii. p. 268.
[n] Ibid. p. 363.
[o] La Mennais, Affaires de Rome, p. 52, 53.
[p] Bouvier, De Vera Eccl. p. 379.

pear, therefore, why it should be unlawful to *subscribe* to it, not as a doctrinal judgment, but as an exposition of opinions. . . . Secondly, it is certain that those who subscribe to it, merit no censure," &c.[q] This most fully justifies the clergy of England for subscribing to some doctrines which are not matters of faith.

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARTICLES.

That the meaning of a great part of the articles is clear, is not denied, I believe, by any one: but as some parts of them are understood differently, it is a matter of some importance to ascertain by what general rules we should be guided in their interpretation. It has been suggested by some writers, that the sentiments of the *compilers* of the articles furnish the true key; but this view seems to involve us in very considerable difficulties. First, it would not be easy to say who really compiled the articles. The convocation of 1562 may lay a fair claim to this office, because, although they adopted certain articles of 1552 as their basis, they examined, corrected, and reformed those articles,[r] and thus in fact made them their own; and though they doubtless agreed in general with those who compiled the former articles, they may not have held the same views on every point. On the other hand those who wrote in 1552, certainly composed the ground-work of the existing articles; and it may be said that where their work was not altered, their sense was preserved; or that their sense in general was approved by the convocation of 1562, and the corrections were merely in the modes of expression, not in the doctrine itself. But this is not all: for the articles of 1552 appear to have been based on a body of thirteen articles, agreed on in 1538, during the reign of Henry VIII. by some of the English bishops, together with certain Lutheran theologians, who were engaged in a negotiation for a more perfect union with our

[q] Ibid. p. 379, 380.

[r] Wilkins, Concilia, t. iv. p. 232, 233.

churches.[s] The views of the compilers of these articles, if known, might probably give a new complexion to the discussion. Besides this, it is a matter of extreme difficulty, if not totally impossible, to pronounce what the sense of these respective bodies of compilers was *individually*, when they composed their articles. We have reason to believe that they were not all perfectly united in opinion. The majority of the synod of 1562 probably have left no record of their individual sentiments on any one doubtful point in the Thirty-nine Articles. Besides, those individuals whose books remain, may not have been exactly in the same mind when they composed the articles, as when they wrote their books. In fine, it is uncertain who actually composed the articles of 1552. Several bishops, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are said to have had a considerable share in it, but various other theologians (we know not how many) were also consulted, and aided in the work.[t] There is the same uncertainty as to the compilers of the articles of 1538. Hence, it appears to me, that there can be nothing but a mere vague probability attained, by deriving the exposition of the articles from the sentiments of one or more theologians in the sixteenth century.

It has been said with more reason, that the true sense of the articles is that designed by the *imposers*, or by the authority which proposes them for adoption and subscription: and in this opinion, rightly understood, I concur. The question first arises, "By whom are the articles thus proposed?" First: it is not the individual prelate who receives subscriptions to the articles, for he only discharges an obligation imposed on him by the spiritual and temporal powers. Secondly, the clergy are obliged to profess the Thirty-nine Articles by the act of parliament made in 1571, which being unrepealed, the

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[s] Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 273. See also Mr. Jenkyns' Remarks, vol. i. p. xx—xxiv.

[t] Todd's Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 288; Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. i. p. cvii.

power of the state imposes the articles: but the state then and now could not have had any intention of imposing them in a sense different from that of the church of England. Thirdly, they are imposed by the church of England; for the canon of the synod of 1571, renewed and confirmed by that of 1604, has always since remained in force; and therefore the articles are proposed for subscription by the whole church of England. The sense of the church of England, therefore, is the sense in which the articles are to be understood, and the church has always understood them as she did in the sixteenth century, because she has never, by any act whatsoever since that time, expressed any change of interpretation. In still continuing, without remark, the same law which she enacted in the sixteenth century, she has afforded a pledge of her retaining the same sense she then had. How then is this sense of the church to be ascertained? I reply first, that the articles being designed to produce unity of opinion, the meaning of a large part of them is doubtless plain and clear, as every one admits it to be. This will, in itself, furnish one rule for the interpretation of the remainder: *viz.* that it shall not be contradictory to what is elsewhere clearly stated in the articles themselves. Secondly, the formularies of public worship, comprising creeds, solemn addresses to God, and instructions of the faithful, which have been also approved,[u] and always used by these catholic churches, furnish a sufficient testimony of their doctrine: for they could never have intended that their articles should be interpreted in a sense contrary to the doctrine clearly and uniformly taught in their other approved formularies. Thirdly, since it is the declaration of the church of England, that "a

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[u] Synod, 1571. Can. de Concion. Wilkins, Conc. t. iv. p. 267; Synod, 1604, Can. iv. xxxvi. This rule was violated by Clarke and the Arian party, who attempted to force an Arian interpretation on the Articles, in defiance of the clear and manifest orthodoxy, not only of those formularies, but of our creeds and ritual.—See Waterland's case of Arian subscriptions.

just and favourable construction ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority,"[v] it is apparently her desire, that where any doubt shall remain of her real sense, that sense may be always understood to be *the best*, *i. e.* the sense most conformable to scripture and to catholic tradition, which she acknowledges as her guides. The very convocation of 1571, which originally enjoined subscription to the articles, declared at the same time the principle of the church of England, that nothing should be taught as an article of the faith, except what was supported by the authority of scripture and catholic tradition.[w]

In fine, it appears to be the persuasion of the most learned men, and it is consistent with the practice of these churches to suppose, that they have in some disputed points, especially in the article on predestination, employed language which is designed to teach simply the doctrine of scripture, without offering any decision on certain differences of private opinion: and this should lead us carefully to avoid imposing on the articles, any doctrines except what they actually teach, either expressly or by necessary consequence; and to view with charity and forbearance those who may differ from us on points which have, for many centuries, been debated in the universal church.

SECTION IV.

ON SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES.

I have above shown the right of the church to demand a sincere adhesion to her articles of faith, doctrine, and opinion. The particular mode in which this is effected, is by *subscription*. It remains to examine the lawfulness and meaning of this practice.

The meaning of subscription to a body of articles, in the case of a person at the age of reason, is an *acknowledgment*

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[v] Preface to Book of Common Prayer, &c.

[w] See above, p. 243.

that the doctrines comprised in them are sincerely those of the subscriber. As the signature of a letter implies that the letter conveys the sentiments of the person signing; as the subscription of a prince to an edict or a proclamation attests that it is the act of that prince; so subscription to articles implies their entire adoption as the profession of the subscriber. If any person should accidentally discover a confession of faith and doctrine formally subscribed by some other individual, he would infallibly regard it as the confession of that individual's own belief and persuasion.

The inscription of each apostolical epistle, comprising the name of the apostle, and the particular subscription which was sometimes added,[x] testified that that epistle contained the doctrine of the apostle. Thus also the prefixing of the names of bishops to the synodical epistles of the early synods,[y] expressed their union in those acts. Wherever we find instances in subsequent ages of subscriptions to articles, the meaning always, either expressed or understood, was that of a real adoption and approbation of those articles, not a mere submission to them as articles of peace. At the first œcumenical synod of Nice, all the bishops, according to Eusebius, *confirmed* the faith by their *subscriptions*.[z] Socrates says that they *approved* and adopted it,[a] and that at length Eusebius of Cæsarea *agreed* with the others and *subscribed*.[b] The Emperor Constantine had exhorted all *to be of one mind* and *subscribe* the doctrine.[c] In all these instances, subscription is understood as equivalent

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x 2 Thess. iii. 15; 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

y *E. g.* the synods of Carthage and Antioch in the third century.

z Euseb. Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 14. Ἐκυροῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ ἐν γραφῇ δι' ὑποσημειώσεως ἑκάστου τὰ κοινῇ δεδογμένα.

a Ταύτην τὴν πίστιν τριακόσιοι μὲν πρὸς τοῖς δεκαοκτὼ ἔγνωσάν τε καὶ ἔστερξαν καὶ ὡς φησὶν ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ὁμοφωνήσαντες καὶ ὁμοδοξήσαντες ἔγραφον.—Socr. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 8.

b Οὕτως ἅμα τοῖς πολλοῖς πᾶσι συνήνεσέν τε καὶ συνυπέγραψεν.—Ibid.

c Πάντας συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ ὑπογράφειν τοῖς δόγμασι, καὶ συμφωνεῖν τούτοις αὐτοῖς παρεκελεύετο.—Ibid.

to confirmation, agreement, or assent to the doctrine subscribed. Subscription was viewed in the same light by those who refused to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius, and to the creed of Ariminum. They believed that it would identify them with proceedings which they disapproved. Several persons went into exile rather than subscribe the decree of the œcumenical synod of Ephesus against Nestorius, which was enjoined by the civil power.[d] In the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon, the bishops, having approved the epistle of S. Leo, said, "He who does not subscribe the epistle to which the synod has consented, is a heretic."[e] Flavianus, patriarch of Constantinople, was obliged to excommunicate several monks who refused to subscribe the condemnation of Eutyches by the synod at Constantinople.[f] Subscriptions were exacted to the decrees of the fifth œcumenical synod against Theodore, &c., when Facundus Hermianensis complained of the demand of subscription, "as if," he says, "no one could be a catholic without pronouncing anathema against Theodore of Mopseuestia."[g] In those ages, subscription was always considered equivalent to a real approbation and adoption of what was subscribed, and therefore, whoever objected to the doctrine, refused to subscribe. I shall not multiply similar instances.

The forms of subscription to the decrees of councils, and to formularies of doctrine generally, testify the same thing. We find, intermingled with the signatures of bishops who subscribed simply, those of many, who expressed in the very form of subscription their approbation of the preceding formulary. According to Socrates, Hosius subscribed the Nicene creed thus: "I, Hosius, believe as is above written."[h] A frequent form is:

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[d] Synodicon c. 148. 179. 183, &c. Baluzzi Coll. Conc. t. i. ed. 1683.

[e] Actio iv. Hard. Conc. t. ii. p. 418.

[f] Harduin. Conc. t. ii. p. 234.

[g] Facundus Hermianens. lib. iii. c. 1. ed. Sirmond. p. 472.

[h] Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος κουδρούβης Ἱσπανίας, οὕτως πιστεύω ὡς προγέγραπται. — Socr. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13.

"Ego N. consentiens subscripsi." The same form is observed in the signatures to the confessions of the Reformation. The articles of Smalcald are succeeded by subscriptions in this form: "All consenting profess that they *think according to the articles*, &c. and that they *approve* the article, &c. *Therefore they subscribe their names.*"[i] The Formula Concordiæ terminates thus: "In the sight of the omnipotent God, and before all the church of Christ, &c. we openly and expressly testify that this declaration . . . is truly our doctrine, faith, and confession, &c. In it, the Lord helping us, we will persevere constantly to the end of our lives. *In assurance of which*, with mature deliberation, &c. . . . we have subscribed this declaration with our own hands."[k] Those who objected to the doctrine of such articles refused to subscribe them: thus Peter Martyr and Zanchius were obliged to leave Strasburg, because they would not subscribe the confession of Augsburg, at least, without some limitation. The Arminians went into banishment rather than subscribe the doctrines of the synod of Dort, which they disbelieved. The puritans refused to subscribe the English articles which related to discipline.

The forms of subscription to the English articles by the convocations in 1562, 1571, and 1604, all equally and formally expressed their assent, approbation and adoption of those articles as true and consonant to the word of God. The form subscribed

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[i] De mandato illustrissimorum principum, &c. . . relegimus articulos confessionis exhibitæ imperatori in conventu Augustano, et Dei beneficio, omnes concionatores qui in hoc Smalcaldensi conventu interfuerunt, consentientes profitentur, se juxta articulos . . . sentire. . . . Profitentur etiam se articulum de primatu papæ . . . approbare. *Ideo* nomina sua subscribunt." —Artic. Smalcald.

[k] "Clara voce et diserte testamur, quod declaratio illa nostra de omnibus commemoratis controversis articulis, et nulla prorsus alia, revera sit nostra doctrina, fides et confessio . . . in ea, Domino nos bene juvante, usque ad vitæ finem constantes perseverabimus. *In ejus rei fidem*, matura cum deliberatione, in timore Dei et nominis ipsius invocatione, propriis manibus huic declarationi subscripsimus."—Formula Concordiæ.

by all the clergy in obedience to the synod of 1603—4, and practised ever since, even to this day, declares that all the Thirty-nine Articles are agreeable to the word of God, and that the subscriber allows them all.[1] This form evidently implies an approbation and adoption of all the Thirty-nine Articles.

It may be concluded, therefore, from the reason of the thing, and the universal sense of Christians from the earliest ages, that the subscription to the articles given by the clergy, implies a real and sincere profession and adoption of the doctrines contained in them, and an undertaking to profess those doctrines on all fitting occasions: but it by no means implies the adoption and inculcation of *all* these articles as *matters of faith*, or obliges us to consider as heretics members of other churches, who may in some points differ from them: for that only is matter of faith, which is clearly proved by scripture and catholic tradition.

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[1] Canon xxxvi.

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH CONCERNING DISCIPLINE AND RITES.

I HAVE elsewhere shown the lawfulness of instituting discipline and rites which, though not expressed in scripture, are not contrary to its precepts.[a] It only remains to consider more particularly the power of the church to make regulations on such points, and the obligation of those regulations on individuals and churches.

I. I am now speaking of catholic churches as distinct from all heresies, and therefore assume all the *essentials* of rites and discipline, transmitted from our Lord and his apostles, to be preserved. We also suppose that other general and lawful regulations of discipline have been transmitted from former times. Supposing that at any time alterations, not affecting essential points, are proposed: the first question is, by what members of the church they may be enacted: that is, whether by bishops alone, or conjointly with others?

I reply that bishops are invested with the right of making regulations in such points, without the addition of any other members of the church: for being chief pastors of the church, and succeeding to the place of the apostles, it is virtually said to them, as it was to the apostles themselves, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven:" "He that heareth you heareth me:" and "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." And, therefore, as the apostles were commissioned not only to teach but to make regulations of good order: and as they not only exercised this power, but transmitted it to others, ("For this cause have I left thee at Ephesus, that thou

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[a] See Part III. Ch. IV.

mightest set things in order:"[b]) this power was to descend to all the successors of the apostles. The same is confirmed by the practice of the universal church in her œcumenical and particular synods, where bishops alone most commonly made enactments concerning rites and discipline.

But since the authority of bishops is paternal, and is not designed to be of the same nature as an earthly domination, because the apostle says, that they should not "lord it over God's heritage,"[c] nor have they "dominion over our faith;"[d] it has always been held both wise and right, that in making regulations for their particular churches, they should, if possible, act with the advice and consent of discreet and holy brethren, in order that all things might proceed with more gracefulness and facility. The faithful in each particular church are bound to obey their bishop in all lawful regulations, that is, in those which are not contrary to the word of God; by the apostolical rule "Obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account."[e]

II. May particular bishops and churches make and adopt regulations in matters of discipline and rites?

I reply, that this power is originally inherent in every particular church: and has been repeatedly exercised in all ages, as we may see by the canons of diocesan synods, and by the various rituals and liturgies which still exist in all parts of the church. But while this power is inherent in particular churches, they often, by ancient custom or formal enactment, are united by provincial or national association, and agree, for many good reasons to refrain from exercising their inherent powers, and to adopt uniformity of rites and discipline. And where this custom has been long continued, and no valid reason can be assigned for altering it, there is an obligation of charity on particular bishops and churches to obey the ancient rule, lest jealousies and schisms might be excited by their transgressing it. But

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[b] Tit. i. 5.
[c] 1 Pet. v. 3.
[d] 2 Cor. i. 24.
[e] Heb. xiii. 17.

where no such rule exists, particular churches may exercise their natural liberty.

III. Are provincial and national churches bound by the regulations concerning discipline and rites made by the bishops of more numerous churches, and accepted by those churches?

I reply that they are not bound, except when those regulations are essentially necessary to maintain the divine and apostolical institutions, to reform abuses prejudicial to piety, or to preserve the peace of the church without compromising the Christian truth. In such cases there is, indeed, an obligation to adopt regulations, whether made by general, national, or provincial synods; and on this ground we might easily show, that some regulations adopted by our national church are obligatory on the churches of the Roman obedience. But where there is no such special reason, the regulations, even of œcumenical synods, in rites and discipline, are not obligatory on national or particular churches. Some canons of the synods of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were not adopted by the western churches. In the code of canons of the universal church, approved by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon, are many regulations which were not practised in the west. More recently we have seen several of the Roman churches not accepting the discipline of the synod of Trent, which they acknowledge to be an œcumenical synod. Therefore, it is clear, that the regulations of œcumenical synods concerning variable rites and discipline, are not binding on national churches except by their own approbation and adoption of them.

IV. It is very true that the power of making regulations concerning rites and discipline may be injudiciously exercised. God does not always vouchsafe, even to men of good intentions, the gifts of wisdom and moderation, and an insight into the practical consequences of things; and thus he did not interfere to prevent the introduction of several rites into His church, which, though arising in some instances from a spirit of devotion and humility, yet were found by experience to be prejudicial to piety, and as such were removed by the authority of

our catholic churches. It is also true that this power may be too largely exercised: and that the multiplication of rites, in *themselves* harmless, may become so great, that the church may be obliged to prune away their redundancy. This also was done by our churches in the sixteenth century, as the preface to the Prayer-book teaches us:[f] for we should be greatly mistaken, if we supposed that the Church of England meant to censure or condemn as superstitious, *all* the rites which she dispensed with at that time. Vague and general charges of this kind would be equally inconsistent with Christian charity, and with the truth.

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[f] "Some are put away because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burden of them was intolerable; whereof St. Augustine in his time complained, that they were grown to such a number, that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than the Jews. And he counselled that such yoke and burden should be taken away, as time would serve quietly to do it."

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE EXERCISE AND SANCTIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

In examining the general principles of practical discipline in the church, or the mode in which transgressions against faith and morality are to be treated, I shall first consider the tribunals in particular churches for the judgment of offences; secondly, the censures which they are empowered to inflict; thirdly, restoration by penitence and absolution; and fourthly, the censure of churches by other churches.

SECTION I.

ON ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS.

The offences of Christians against the divine laws of brotherly love, holiness, and faith, were by our Lord and his apostles placed under the cognizance of their particular churches in the first instance; as we may easily gather from the following texts. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault, &c. And if he shall neglect to hear thee, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."[g] "Do not ye judge them that are *within?* But them that are without God judgeth. Therefore, *put away from among yourselves* that wicked person."[h] "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye that are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness."[i] "Of some have compassion, making a difference: and others save with fear, pulling them out of the

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[g] Matt. xviii. 15—17. [h] 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. [i] Gal. vi. 1.

fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh."[k] These precepts were addressed to the church in common, consisting of both pastors and people. And accordingly we find from Tertullian and Cyprian, that the judgments of causes in the church were attributed not only to the clergy but to the brethren also.[l]

The error of the Independents in this point consists in their vesting the whole authority in the laity, and in insisting on the necessity of their judging personally in every case. The scripture lays down no such rule: on the contrary, we find that the apostle sanctioned the appointment of *one individual* to judge in a church. "If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not a wise man among you? No not *one* that shall be able to judge between his brethren."[m] Thus churches were empowered to delegate their power of judging to individuals: and on whom could this power more properly and reasonably devolve, than on those pastors who were made overseers of the church of Christ by the Holy Ghost: whom the faithful were bound to obey in all spiritual matters; and who were invested with peculiar powers above all the rest of the brethren.

Since the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, were commissioned to teach, and to be an example of all believers, it is plain that they were, by the very nature of their office, given the chief and leading part in all judgments concerning religion. But it seems that their power went further than this: and that they were invested with the inherent right of judging and censuring, independently of the people, when they judged it necessary. Thus our blessed Saviour, not only said to the church, consisting of his ministers and people, "whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in

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[k] Jude 22, 23.

[l] See Du Pin, De Antiqua Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. iii. c. 1.

[m] 1 Cor. vi. 4, 5.

heaven :"[n] but he said to the apostles only, and through them to their successors in the sacred ministry, " whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained."[o] Hence, St. Paul alone " delivered Hymenæus and Alexander to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme :"[p] and to Timothy he said, " A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject."[q] It was probably by observing these circumstances, that Christians were induced universally to devolve the judgment of all causes on their chief pastors, the bishops of the catholic church, who, however, usually judged with the advice of their clergy,[r] and at length deputed a portion of their power to their vicars, chancellors, and archdeacons.

The cognizance of the causes of the clergy was specially reserved to the ministers of Jesus Christ, by St. Paul, who writes to Timothy: " Against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses,"[s] thus constituting him the judge of the presbyters at Ephesus. It would not have been decorous indeed, that the sheep should judge their shepherds, the children their spiritual parents, those who are ruled their rulers : and the same principle of fitness and decency requires that those who preside in every church should not be judged by the inferior clergy and laity of their churches, but by those who, like themselves, succeed to the principal and apostolical power.

The judgments of particular churches in the causes of laity and clergy, were not final ; an appeal was allowed to provincial synods,[t] and in later times from the bishop to the metropolitan.

For many ages the judgments of the church were conducted

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[n] Matt. xviii. 18.
[o] John xx. 23.
[p] 1 Tim. i. 20.
[q] Tit. iii. 10.
[r] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. iii. p. 249.
[s] 1 Tim. v. 19.
[t] Du Pin, ut supra, p. 248. See also vol. i. p. 80.

according to fixed rules indeed, but without the formality of juridical proceedings. It was not until the twelfth century, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in courts proceeding according to the forms of the Roman law, was introduced into the church.[u]

SECTION. II.

ON ECCLESIASTICAL CENSURES.

The ecclesiastical censures mentioned in scripture are public rebuke, or admonition, and the greater excommunication, or anathema.

The former is authorized by the following passages, "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second *admonition*, reject."[v] "Rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith."[w] "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear."[x] These passages authorize not only verbal admonitions, but formal episcopal censures of books, propositions, and persons.

The second censure is mentioned in the following texts: "If he neglect to hear the church let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[y] "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain are retained."[z] "I verily, as absent in body but present in spirit, have judged already . . . concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit

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[u] Van Espen, Tract. de Censuris, cap. ii.

[v] Tit. iii. 10. [w] Tit. i. 13. [x] 1 Tim. v. 20.

[y] Matt. xvii. 17, 18. [z] John xx. 23.

may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. . . . Purge out therefore the old leaven . . . *put away from among yourselves* that wicked person."[a] "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, *reject*."[b] "We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received from us."[c] "I would they were even *cut off* that trouble you."[d] "Some concerning faith have made shipwreck, of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."[e] From these passages we learn that the judgment of the church against an obstinate and impenitent offender, declaring him to be as a heathen man and a publican, is ratified by God himself: and that he who is rightly excommunicated, *clave non errante*, is cut off from the way of salvation: so that unless he receive the grace of repentance, he will certainly perish. The awful nature of this censure obviously renders it necessary, not only that the most conscientious diligence be employed in investigating any case to which it may be applied, but that its use be sparing, and only in extreme cases.[f]

The external effects of anathema are, an exclusion from the sacraments, from all Christian privileges, from all religious intercourse with Christians, and from all other intercourse as far as possible, except between relations, whose reciprocal duties are imposed by the Divine law; as rulers and subjects, parents and children, &c.

Since the church is empowered to inflict these penalties *collectively*, on great and obstinate offenders against the Divine law, she has also the power of inflicting a portion of them when the offence is inferior: the greater power including the less. Hence arose the other censures, *viz.* the lesser excommunica-

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[a] 1 Cor. v. 3, &c. [b] Tit. iii. 10. [c] 2 Thess. iii. 6, 7.
[d] Gal. v. 12. [e] 1 Tim. i. 19, 20.
[f] See August. lib. iv. c. 1. Contr. Epistolam Parmeniani; Fleury, Instit. au Droit Eccl. p. iii. c. 20.

tion, interdict, suspension, irregularity, degradation, all of which are partial exclusions from Christian privileges. The *lesser excommunication* consists in a suspension from the sacraments or offices of the church, in order to bring the offender to repentance. It is the opinion of some persons, that excommunications *latæ sententiæ*, or to be incurred *ipso facto*, (introduced, in the middle ages,[g]) are always to be understood of the *lesser* excommunication.[h] *Interdict* was a censure introduced in the middle ages, prohibiting the celebration of public service.[i] *Suspension* is an interdiction to a clergyman to exercise ministerial functions for a limited time, and does not seem to have existed very early in the church.[k] *Irregularity* is incurred by any clergyman under suspension who performs any ministerial act: it consists in an incapacity to receive superior orders, or to obtain benefices.[l] *Degradation*, or deposition, is the perpetual deprivation of all right to exercise ministerial functions, or to possess any privileges or emoluments attached to them.[m] These are, as I have observed, partial exclusions from Christian privileges; and the church, which is given the power of the greater excommunication in cases of obstinate sin, is reasonably believed to be invested with the power of inflicting milder censures where there is a probable hope of amendment. Accordingly, the church universal has exercised the discipline of the

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[g] Van Espen, Tract. de Censuris, c. i. s. 4.

[h] Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, book iii. c. 4. Rule ix. p. 618.

[i] See Van Espen, Jus. Eccl. Universam, pars iii. tit. xi. c. ix; Tractatus de Censuris, c. ix.; Fleury, Institut. au Droit Eccles. pars iii. c. 21.

[k] Van Espen, Jus. Eccl. Univers. pars ii. tit. x; Tract. Censuris, c. x.; Fleury, c. 19.

[l] Irregularity is rather an incapacity than a censure, but it is a consequence of ecclesiastical censures. See Fleury, part i. c. 4. the modern canonists reckon only three sorts of censure, suspension, excommunication and interdict.

[m] See Gibson, Codex Tit. xlvi. According to Fleury, c. 19, the solemn degradation of ecclesiastics, which required the assistance of several bishops, has long been disused in France.

suspension of penitents from the sacraments, and deposition of the clergy, apparently from the time of the apostles.

SECTION III.

ON PENITENCE AND ABSOLUTION.

The object of the church's censures, being "edification and not destruction,"[n] the recovery, not the mere punishment of sinners, she must be willing to receive those who sincerely repent. Accordingly, the apostle exhorted the Corinthian church to receive him whom she had excommunicated: "Ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him. . . . Wherefore, I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love toward him. . . . To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also."[o]

The *sincerity* of the offender's repentance was the only condition essentially necessary to readmission to the church and its privileges. It was as a test of this sincerity, that the primitive churches adopted such lengthened courses of penitence, which, however, were gradually diminished, and various other tests introduced. Whenever the church judges repentance to be sincere, she is to restore the penitent to Christian privileges.

To deny the church the power of absolving the penitent, who had fallen into sin after baptism, was the heresy of Novatian, which the catholic church condemns. The power of absolution is proved by the words of St. Paul above cited, and by the following: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness."[p] When our Lord Jesus Christ, speaking of the power of the church to remove an obstinate offender from her communion, adds, "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," &c. and where He declares to his ministers, "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosesoever sins ye

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[n] 2 Cor. xiii. 10. [o] 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8. 10. [p] Gal. vi. 1.

retain they are retained," we see the power of absolution and remission conveyed. And this absolution being the reversal of excommunication, it brings an individual who has been anathematized rightly as far as we can judge, from the state of a heathen man and a publican, into the visible kingdom of God.

SECTION IV.

ON CENSURES OF CHURCHES BY OTHER CHURCHES.

Since all particular churches are but portions of one body, and are not by their constitution designed to be independent of each other, but to co-operate in brotherly love, it is certain that no church can, on pretence of its independency, teach a strange doctrine different from that of Jesus Christ. In case any church becomes heretical, the rest of the church is bound, after due admonition, to reject it from the Christian community by anathema. But when the offence is not so great, churches have been content to rebuke and admonish other churches, by withdrawing one or more of the signs of fraternal communion, without denouncing the extreme sentence of the greater excommunication.

The signs of external communion between churches, from the earliest period, were chiefly the transmission of letters of communion, the fraternal reception of brethren who came with commendatory letters,[q] the assembling together in councils, and in later times, mention in the diptychs of the principal bishops to whom many churches were subject. When churches have had serious contentions, not actually concerning the Christian faith, they have sometimes imitated, in some degree, the example of Paul and Barnabas, when "the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other;"[r] and have withdrawn several of the signs of external

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[q] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Diss. iii. p. 253.

[r] Acts xv. 39.

communion, without actually pronouncing anathema. It is in this manner that communion has been interrupted between the eastern and western churches.[s]

OBJECTIONS.

I. The tares are to be left "until the harvest:"[t] therefore, it is unlawful for the church to expel offenders from her communion.

Answer. Our Lord speaks not in this place of those who are manifest offenders, but of those who are false and hypocritical members of the church, and do not openly resist God's law. The church cannot excommunicate such: but when the offence is manifestly proved, the scripture empowers her to excommunicate.

II. Our Lord did not excommunicate Judas Iscariot.

Answer. He was not a manifest, but a secret offender: and the church was not fully established till after the death of our Lord.

III. The church at first could discover miraculously the truth of any alleged crime; therefore, her acts then can afford no precedent for later ages, when this power of discerning has ceased.

Answer. There is no proof that all churches had this power at first; and the church may be sufficiently assured of the truth of any alleged fact by good testimony.

IV. Ecclesiastical excommunications are injurious to the authority of the civil magistrate. They may interfere with the laws of the land.

Answer. Excommunication, as such, does not affect temporal rights, properties, privileges, &c. but merely spiritual or Christian privileges, which are not at the disposal of temporal magistrates.

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[s] See above, Part I. c. iv. s. 2, 3. [t] Matt. xiii. 30.

V. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you,"[u] &c. Therefore, all authority in the church is unlawful.

Answer. The assumption of authority in the sense of domination or earthly jurisdiction is unlawful: but authority, in the sense of power conferred by Christ himself, is lawful; and Christ Himself gave His church the power of excommunicating or expelling obstinate offenders.

VI. The ecclesiastical courts inflict excommunications for insufficient causes, or in order to support their own authority in matters essentially temporal.[v]

Answer. It is probable that such excommunications are null in point of internal effect, because the greater excommunication should never be inflicted, except in case of disobedience to the law of Christ.

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[u] Matt. xxv. 26.

[v] The council of Trent prohibited all ecclesiastical judges from employing excommunications to enforce their ordinances, whenever they can be enforced by temporal constraints. See Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccl. part iii. c 20.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE POWERS OF UNIVERSITIES IN THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

The right of universities, which possess a faculty of theology, to determine theological questions, and censure theological propositions, arises from the very fact of their being authorized to *teach* theology, and confer degrees in that faculty. This privilege at once invests them with the right of determining what doctrines shall, and what shall not, be taught by their members, and of enforcing their determination, either by refusing degrees to those who will not undertake to maintain the doctrines approved by their university, or by censuring, degrading, or expelling from the society those who assert doctrines contrary to its decrees.

These are privileges and powers which have been exercised for many centuries by all the universities of Europe, which possessed theological faculties. Nor is there any unreasonable assumption of authority in exercising them; for the bishops, and all the western church, from the thirteenth century, approved, sanctioned, and recommended such proceedings: and universities did not pretend by their censures to determine controversies with the authority of the church, or to expel offenders from Christian communion; but to declare their own judgments, and to remove offenders from their own societies and peculiar privileges, leaving them finally to the judgment of the church.

Thus we find in 1277, the bishop of Paris, with the advice of the masters in theology at Paris, condemning various errors in faith.[a] Du Boulay mentions other censures of the university of Paris, in the thirteenth century, made either conjointly

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[a] Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisiensis, t. iii. p. 397. 433.

with the bishop of Paris or separately.[b] In the succeeding centuries these censures were very numerous, and were held of so much authority in the church, that they almost supplied the place of the judgments of provincial synods. The censures of the university of Paris are found in the writings of Du Boulay and Du Pin,[c] and have been published in several volumes. According to Launoy, this university exercised invariably the right of judging in questions of doctrine, and of imposing its judgments under the penalty of loss of degrees in case of refusal to recant errors or to sustain the opposite truths.[d] They also obliged those admitted to degrees to subscribe previously articles defined by the university.[e] The same sort of power was exercised by all similar universities. Thus the writings of Luther were condemned by the universities of Louvain, Cologne, and others, in the sixteenth century.

Universities were also frequently consulted by princes and others in difficult questions of doctrine or morality. Philip the Fair, king of France, consulted the university of Paris, previously to the suppression of the order of knights-templars. The duke of Orleans consulted them in 1410, concerning certain theses published against his deceased father.[f] In the same manner king Henry VIII. consulted the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Bologna, &c. on the question whether marriage with a deceased brother's wife was contrary to the divine law. He also consulted the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whether the bishop of Rome has, by divine right, any jurisdiction in England, and they determined in the negative. The universities were invested with such great prerogatives by

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[b] Ibid. p. 24. 548, &c. Thomassin says that the doctrinal judgments of the university without the bishops, became common in the fourteenth century. Vet. et Nov. Ecclesiæ Disciplina, pars ii. lib. i. c. 101.

[c] Du Pin, Biblioth. des Aut. Eccl. Cent. xiv. xv. &c.

[d] Launoius, De Scholis Celebrioribus, cap. lix.—lxi.

[e] Ibid. c. lxi. art. 7.

[f] Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris, t. iii. p. 570.

the western churches, that their authority, in all religious questions, could not fail to be very considerable. They sent representatives to general synods of the west;[g] and the universities of Oxford[h] and Cambridge, were empowered to license preachers throughout England.

The university of Oxford has exercised her undoubted privilege of censuring errors in doctrine, at least from the fourteenth century. In 1314, eight articles of false doctrine were censured by the university.[i] In 1368, several articles were condemned by the order of the archbishop of Canterbury.[k] The doctrines of Wickliffe were censured by the chancellor and doctors in 1371, and forbidden to be taught under pain of incarceration and suspension from university acts.[l] In 1411, delegates were appointed to examine the books of the Wickliffites and select propositions from them, which were condemned.[m] In 1425, the university censured the doctrine of Russel against personal tithes, and prescribed an oath against it, to be taken by all persons admitted to degrees.[n] In 1482, some persons having maintained the errors of the Mendicants, were deprived of their degrees, and expelled from the university.[o] In 1530 and 1534, the questions concerning king Henry's marriage, and the Papal jurisdiction were determined.[p] In 1609, Edmond Campian, having taught that subjects might lawfully take up arms against their sovereign for the cause of religion, was compelled to retract.[q] In 1609, a person was

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[g] Launoius, ut supra.

[h] The university of Oxford received from the pope the privilege of licensing preachers in 1490.—See Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 235. Fuller's history of the University of Cambridge, is too brief to enter into such particulars.

[i] Ant. Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 152.

[k] Ibid. p. 183. [l] Ibid. p. 189. [m] Ibid. p. 206.

[n] Ibid. p. 211. [o] Ibid. p. 232.

[p] Burnet, Hist. Reformation.

[q] Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 315.

forced to recant some Popish errors.[r] In 1622, many erroneous propositions were condemned.[s] In 1647, the solemn league and covenant was censured. At the end of the same century, Dr. Bury's Socinian writings were condemned by the university and publicly burnt, and he was himself expelled; and in 1836, Dr. Hampden was suspended from certain privileges in consequence of the theological errors advanced in his writings.[t]

Thus there cannot be any doubt that universities which possess a theological faculty, have a just and prescriptive right of censuring the writings, propositions, and persons of their members, and if needful, of enforcing their judgments, by demanding subscription to articles and declarations, or by exacting recantations, under the penalty of suspension, degradation, or expulsion.

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[r] Ibid. p. 317. [s] Ibid. p. 327.

[t] The decree in this case was as follows: "Quum ab Universitate commissum fuerit S. Theologiæ professori regio, ut unus sit ex eorum numero a quibus designantur selecti concionatores, secundum Tit. xvi. § 8; necnon ut ejus consilium adhibeatur, si quis concionator coram Vice-Cancellario in quæstionem vocetur, secundum Tit. xvi. § 11: quum vero qui nunc professor est, scriptis quibusdam suis publici juris factis ita res theologicas tractaverit, ut in hac parte nullam ejus fiduciam habeat Universitas; statutum est, quod munerum prædictorum expers sit S. Theologiæ professor regius, donec aliter Universitati placuerit."

A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART V.

ON THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

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INTRODUCTION.

Amongst the various questions connected with the church, few are of more intricacy than those which concern her relations with the civil magistrate, and few are of more importance, at least theoretically. In the present day we need scarcely prepare ourselves to combat the doctrine of Augustinus Triumphans, Alvarus Pelagius, Hostiensis, Panormitanus, Sylvester, Hugo S. Victor, Durandus, Turrecremata, Pighius, Stapleton, Bellarmine, and the modern Ultramontane party, that the pretended spiritual monarch of Rome is invested with a superiority in temporals above the kings and princes of the world; that he is entitled to judge, depose, create sovereigns, to exact homage from them, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. This doctrine has been so completely refuted by Bossuet,[a] and by all the great writers of the Gallican church, and is so little likely to come into controversy, that we may lay it aside.

[a] In his great work, the Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani.

There is more danger in the present day from the principles of Hobbes, Tindal, and other enemies of Christianity, who pretend, that religion may be dictated by the civil power, and that the church is the mere creature of the state. A learned bishop has observed, that "Infidelity in later times has been employed in endeavouring to subvert Christianity, by first merging its authority in that of the state. Hobbes, in the seventeenth century, made this the foundation of his grand attack upon the Christian religion; which he endeavoured to subvert, by inculcating that all religion depended on the civil power, and had no other claim to respect and obedience than as being sanctioned by the will of the magistrate. The deists of the last century almost all argue upon the same principle, though not so openly avowed. The French revolutionists effected their diabolical purpose by similar means: and to this day, scarcely any attack is made upon revealed religion, which does not proceed upon the implied principle that religion is purely a creature of the state, a political engine for keeping mankind in subjection, and which may be lawfully upholden or overthrown at pleasure, by the civil power."[b]

Another principle equally dangerous and untrue, is that of Locke, Hoadly, and the modern dissenters, that the office of the Christian magistrate has nothing whatever to do with religion: that he cannot, without interfering with the office of Christ himself, either support the church by law, or protect its doctrine and discipline: that he ought to treat all religions with a just and impartial indifference, and permit the propagation of heresy even within the church.

The doctrine of Warburton and Paley, that the civil magistrate is bound to establish the *largest sect*, without reference to the truth of its faith, is also a very dangerous and erroneous position, which is derived from the principles of Locke and Hoadly, that the civil magistrate has nothing to do with religion,

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[b] Van Mildert, Boyle Lectures, vol. i. p. 504. 3d ed.

and that all opinions are equally acceptable to God. In fine, the doctrine maintained by the Ultramontane party amongst the Romanists, and by the Presbyterians,[c] and too much countenanced by some of the non-jurors, divests the civil magistrate of his reasonable privileges in the church, renders him the mere executor of its decrees, and is inconsistent with the principles of the Reformation, the existing constitution, and therefore the general interests of the catholic and apostolic churches established in these realms.

Such are the different opinions between which we must endeavour to trace the path of truth: a task peculiarly arduous, because, as the learned De Marca, archbishop of Paris, says, "By the constitution of things, these powers (of church and state) are in such close proximity, that it is difficult even for a very wise man to discriminate in each case their disputed boundaries. Certain *general* rules indeed may be assigned, by which they may be separated, but many things happen to be specifically laid before us, which may deceive the most skilful judges."[d]

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[c] Taylor, Ductor Dubitant. p. 545, ed. 1676, mentions their principal writers.

[d] De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, Præfatio.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ORIGINAL INDEPENDENCE OF CHURCH AND STATE.

I. THAT the sovereign power in every state is established by the divine ordinance, and that it is in all civil and temporal matters to be obeyed by every worshipper of the true God, is a doctrine most continually inculcated by holy scripture, as in the following passages. "By *me* kings reign and princes decree justice."[a] "He removeth kings and setteth up kings."[b] The prophet Daniel says to the king of Babylon, "Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all."[c] And our Lord Jesus Christ in no degree diminished the dignity or power of temporal rulers, in the establishment of his spiritual kingdom; but testified as well by his precept and example, as by the mouth of his holy apostles, that it is the will of God that the faithful should be obedient to the temporal powers. Thus we find our Lord declaring that "his kingdom is not of this world,"[d] refusing to be "a judge or a divider"[e] of inheritance, forbidding his disciples to assume the authority and domination of earthly princes,[f] or to take the sword in his own defence,[g] and enjoining us to "render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God the things that be God's."[h] And the doctrine of the apostles was exactly the same. "Submit yourselves to every

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[a] Prov. viii. 15.
[b] Dan. ii. 21.
[c] Dan. ii. 37, 38.
[d] John xviii. 36.
[e] Luke xii. 14.
[f] Mark x. 42, 43.
[g] Matt. xxvi. 52.
[h] Matt. xii. 21.

ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him."[h] "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. . . . He is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake."[i] "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority: that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."[k]

It is needless to add to these passages the accordant testimony of catholic tradition, in proof of the universal duty of obedience to the temporal rulers in all civil and temporal matters. It is evident that every one is bound to obey the temporal rulers, and therefore that they are in all civil matters supreme, and not subject to, or dependent on, any ecclesiastical power, whether in their own dominions or elsewhere. And this is confirmed by the fact, that the state with its proper government existed in the world before the Christian church was founded; and that it remained for centuries afterwards unconnected with the Christian religion, and in some parts of the world continues so to the present day.

II. The church was originally and essentially independent of the state. For it was not founded by any human power, but by the Son of God, and by his apostles under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. All that is essential to this spiritual society was of DIVINE institution. The doctrines which were to be believed, the duties to be performed, the system and mode of association, its ministry, and rites, were all dictated by God

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[h] 1 Pet. ii. 13. [i] Rom. xiii. 1—5. [k] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

himself, by whose will and commandment this divine religion was to be propagated amongst all nations, as the way by which men should attain his favour. The church, therefore, was not originated by the state; on the contrary it was propagated for several centuries in opposition to the will of the temporal government, which in its ignorance attempted to suppress a religion calculated to confer the highest blessings on humanity. It is certain, however, that the church, even while in a state of persecution, possessed *every essential characteristic of the true church.* Its divine doctrine and discipline were sustained, heretics and schismatics were expelled, councils were held, offences against the divine law judged, the succession of its legitimate pastors preserved, and the promise of Christ, "Lo, I am with you *always*," verified. It may be added, that in every subsequent age, the church in some part of the world has been unprotected by the temporal power, nay, even persecuted; and therefore, though it is admitted that the protection and assistance of the civil government is of very great advantage to the cause of religion, it is evident that the church does not derive its origin, its religion, its powers of spiritual jurisdiction, its general laws, or in fact any part of its essential characteristics, from the state. To assert that it does so, would be to contradict the plain facts recorded in holy scripture, and the promises of our Lord himself; and therefore no Christian can admit such a position.

CHAPTER II.

THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF THE STATE TO PROTECT THE TRUE RELIGION.

The end of civil government is not only the preservation of life and property, but *the general welfare of the community entrusted to its care.* This is proved by the universal sense of mankind, and by the practice of governments, which have never held themselves limited to the mere duty of punishing offences or remedying evils, but have adopted such regulations as were calculated to promote virtue, intelligence, order, wealth, and population.

In furtherance of such objects, it is undoubtedly the right of the state to encourage societies which are established with a particular view to the inculcation of virtue and religion, and which have efficient means for accomplishing their end. If a state may encourage and protect associations for the increase of education, literature, wealth, it has surely a right to protect those which promote virtue and religion, on which alone the fabric of society is securely based, and which tend beyond all others, to the happiness of a community.

It is certain that Christianity is eminently qualified to promote such ends. Even its enemies admit that the morality inculcated by the Gospel is exceedingly pure and exalted; while the motives and sanctions which it conveys, are peculiar to itself, and calculated to have a powerful effect on the conscience. Its constitution, as a society, enables it very effectually to promote habits of virtue and religion; it has a decided superiority in these respects over false religions: and, in fine, Christians universally believe, that the aid of divine grace is given to assist their feeble efforts after godliness.

Christianity, therefore, being, in its essential constitution, as

a religious society, eminently qualified to sustain and encourage virtue and religion, and inculcating, as it does, a most faithful obedience to the law of the civil magistrate, it was evidently for the interest of the state, it was within the duties of the temporal government, to protect and encourage the Christian society by all just and equitable means: and under this view, even an unbelieving prince might undertake the care of religion. This reasoning, however, would afford an inadequate view of the duty of the state to support religion, and of the special duty of a Christian prince to support the Christian religion. It would be a narrow and a contracted theory of government, to say the least, which left out of its calculations the fact that this world is under the supreme government of its Creator; and that the fates of nations, exemplified by the history of many ages, are ultimately subject to the disposal of the Almighty Author and Governor of the universe. No people, however ignorant, has failed to believe in this Supreme power, and to endeavour to propitiate His favour, by all the means which religion, whether true or false, has dictated. And hence, too, blasphemy, and impiety towards God, have been in all ages regarded as crimes against the state, being calculated to draw down the Divine vengeance on those who permitted and sanctioned them.

Since this world, and all that is therein, is governed by an Almighty Being, the favour of that Being ought to be an object of the highest moment to every individual, and therefore to every nation; and consequently the religious means by which this favour is to be attained, ought to be adopted and cultivated by each individual, and by each nation, in their respective capacities, in the one case by personal efforts, in the other, by public and legal encouragement. It is the especial duty of nations to act thus in their collective capacity, and to endeavour that irreligion may be suppressed in the state, because according to the rule of God's moral government, the virtuous are sometimes involved in the temporal punishments of the wicked, and

therefore it is the real interest of the community, that all its members shall be virtuous and acceptable to God.

Those to whom God's Revelation and true religion are made known, will find these truths delivered by the unerring authority of holy scripture. The supreme power of God, his actual government of the world, and his especial interference in the affairs of nations, are alluded to in the following passages. "The Lord looketh from heaven: he beholdeth all the sons of men. . . . He fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works. There is no king saved by the multitude of a host: a mighty man is not delivered for much strength. . . . . Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy: to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine."[a] "In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind. Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up; also, he sendeth them out, and they overturn the earth. With him is strength and wisdom, the deceived and the deceiver are his. He leadeth counsellors away spoiled. . . . He leadeth princes away spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty. . . . He increaseth nations, and destroyeth them: he enlargeth the nations, and straiteneth them again."[b] "He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."[c] "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them."[d]

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[a] Psalm xxxiii. 13—19.
[b] Job xii. 10—25.
[c] Psalm cvii. 33, 34.
[d] Jerem. xviii. 7—10.

Religion, and obedience to God's commandments, are therefore the means of obtaining his favour to nations; and as it is the will of God that the doctrine of Jesus Christ should be preached to, and observed by, "all nations;"[e] and as those who reject it are subject to the wrath of God, for "he that believeth not shall be damned,"[f] it is the most bounden duty of the Christian magistrate, as well from a sense of submission to the will of the Supreme Ruler, "by whom kings reign," as by the obligation of promoting the welfare of the community, and obtaining the divine protection and blessing for it, to protect, to uphold, and, as far as sound policy permits, to propagate the divine system of Christianity amongst his people.

The word of God says to all princes, and especially to those who have received the true religion of His Son: "Be wise, now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling," on which St. Augustine observes, "How do kings serve the Lord in fear, but by forbidding, and, by a religious severity, punishing those things which are done against the Lord's commandments? For he serves Him in different respects as a man, and as a king. As a man, he serves Him by living faithfully: as a king, he serves Him by establishing laws commanding righteousness, and forbidding the contrary. So did Hezekiah serve God, by destroying the groves and the idol temples, and those high places which were built against the commands of God. In the like manner, king Josiah served God,"[g] &c. The example of the godly kings in the Old Testament was also referred to by the Emperor Charlemagne, in the preface to his Capitulare, where he says to the bishops, "Let no one, I pray you, think this admonition presumptuous, which arises from piety, and by which we endeavour to correct errors, to remove superfluities, and to establish what is right; but rather let him receive it with benevolence and charity. For we read

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[e] Matt. xxviii. 19.
[f] Mark xvi. 16.
[g] August. Epist. 50 ad Bonifac.

in the Book of Kings, how the holy Josiah endeavoured to restore the kingdom given to him by God, by going through it, correcting and admonishing."[h] Bellarmine himself argues the duties of Christian princes, from the "godly kings" mentioned in Scripture:[i] and, in short, this appears to have been the general opinion of the church, until De Marca, in the seventeenth century, objected to arguments drawn from the conduct of the Jewish kings, in order, as he said, to deprive the English of their principal argument for the royal supremacy.

The *Christian* magistrate is bound to protect Christianity, because he knows it to be the only true religion, the only method by which God wills that men should serve him and gain his favour. I am not here engaged in examining the duty of heathen, infidel, and heretical magistrates to religion, or how far they are bound to support the false religion which they may judge to be true. It is certain that no false religion can have the same proofs of a divine origin as catholic Christianity. It is not to be admitted as possible by any Christian. But in so far as it is possible that any person can be excused for not believing Christianity to be true, and in preferring some other religion to it; in so far only is he excused for upholding and propagating the latter.

Hence, the doctrine of Warburton and Paley, that the civil magistrate is bound to support and establish the largest sect, is to be rejected: because it can never tend to the welfare of the community to establish a false religion, a heresy, or a schism, which being no portion of the Christian church, and inheriting no promises from God, but rising in impious opposition to the divine will, is so far from drawing down the divine blessing on its professors, that it is rather calculated to bring evil on the people amongst whom it prevails.

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[h] Harduin. Conc. t. iv. p. 825.

[i] Bellarminus de Membris Eccl. Militantis, lib. iii. c. 18.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE PROTECTION AFFORDED BY THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE TO THE CHURCH.

In order to determine the extent of the protection to be afforded to Christianity by the Christian magistrate, we must remember the object with which this protection is given. It is because the church of Christ is best qualified to promote the ends of civil society, and because the divine blessing rests on it *alone*, that the church ought to be supported by those princes who know its divine origin. Therefore, the protection afforded by the state rests on the fundamental condition of *maintaining all that is essential to the church*, and not depriving it of any one of those characteristics which Christ willed never to be separated from it. Hence, a prince would violate the very principle on which he is bound to support the church, if he obliged her to profess doctrines contrary to those revealed by God, or to relinquish any of her essential rites or discipline. In so doing, he would deprive her of the character of a divine institution, would impair, if not destroy, her influence in promoting morality and religion, and thus disqualify her from bringing the divine blessing on the nation.

The Christian magistrate originally, in becoming the protector of the true church, could only lawfully have undertaken this office, with the intention of preserving the definite system of religion which God had revealed and which the catholic church had received. And from the office of protection, *thus limited*, may be deduced the supremacy and all the powers of the Christian magistrate in the true church.

These powers may be, in some degree, gathered from those which the state exercises with regard to any society whatever, whose constitution and ends it judges to be of high importance

to the public welfare, and to which it is desirous of giving effectual support and encouragement. The first and most obvious act of protection is, to give security to the persons and property of its individual members, so that the fact of their membership shall not induce legal penalties or any other danger. Further encouragement is afforded, by giving facilities for the increase of that society by pecuniary assistance if necessary to extend its operations, by protection to the funds destined to its uses, or even by conferring special marks of favour and confidence, on some or all of its members. This protection relates to the external condition of the society; but it may also be extended to its internal condition. In this respect it infers the legal establishment of all the essential principles and features of the society, and therefore the suppression of any attempts to introduce innovations subversive of those essential principles. It also infers the legal enforcement of the established rules and practices on all the members of the society, so that its peace may not be disturbed, or its salutary action impeded by internal disorganization. It infers the remedying of abuses inconsistent with the laws or customs of the society, or abuses in those laws themselves, calculated to impair the perfection and efficiency of the whole system. And, in fine, it implies the exercise of these various powers by means and in modes consistent with the preservation of the essential constitution of the society itself.

The protection of the state, thus exercised in relation to the Christian society, gives rise, at once, to that state of things, which is commonly called the "establishment," and "the supremacy" of the civil magistrate. The Christian magistrate relieves the church from legal persecution; gives security to the persons and property of its individual members; affords legal protection to the property devoted by pious individuals to the maintenance of the Christian ministry; guards the churches from violation; affords the necessary pecuniary assistance for the spread of religion; and in some countries confers temporal

power and dignity on its chief pastors.[a] Thus the church becomes "established."

The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Christian magistate consists in his general right of protection to the church and to its essential principles.

He is to defend the faith of the catholic church, and therefore to repress all attempts to introduce heresies and errors. He is to enforce and execute the discipline of the church, and to prevent any of its members from resisting the spiritual powers constituted by Jesus Christ. He is to preserve the peace and unity of the church, procuring the termination or suppression of controversies. He is to see that the ministers of the church fulfil the office of their vocation, that ecclesiastical tribunals do not themselves transgress the laws of the church; that abuses and imperfections injurious to the efficiency of the church be removed.[b]

In effecting these objects, he is to act in such a manner as does not violate the essential characteristics of the church. He is invested with the power of summoning synods to deli-

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[a] [In the United States there is no "establishment;" nevertheless, of the good offices enumerated in the text, *all but the last two* are rendered by the civil government to any religious community not professing principles alien to the interests of the commonwealth, and to all such communities equally. An experiment of half a century, and the vigorous growth and rapidly developed energy of the church in the United States as compared with the present condition of the older established churches, warrant the belief that "pecuniary assistance" from the state, and "temporal power and dignity for its chief pastors," are not only not necessary to the well-being of the church, but hindrances of its efficiency.]

[b] [It will not be denied that these are duties of the conscientious Christian magistrate, *if he have the right* to undertake them: but in order to establish that, it will be necessary to prove that the church *is bound to permit* such interference—an interference, it must not be forgotten, that materially modifies its right of self-government, and its responsibility in the exercise of that right. Has the author shown that there is any such obligation? Can he?]

berate on the affairs of the church, and to judge questions of doctrine. He has the right of making injunctions or ecclesiastical laws confirmatory of the catholic doctrine and discipline, with the advice of competent persons; and he may enforce his decrees, not by the spiritual penalty of excommunication,[c] but by temporal penalties.

On the other hand, as the magistrate may abuse his power, the church has the remedy of refusing obedience when her essential constitution is infringed. These are the points which are now to be considered more in detail.

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[c] All our writers deny the power of excommunication to the prince. The Institution of a Christian Man, approved by the bishops of England, 1538, says, "We may not think that it doth appertain unto the office of kings and princes to preach and teach, to administer the sacraments, to absolve, to excommunicate, and such other things belonging to the office and administration of bishops and priests." Formularies of Faith, p. 121. Oxford, 1825. The Necessary Doctrine, p. 278, also ascribes the right of excommunication to the sacerdotal office. Dean Nowell says, that in all sermons and writings, we make a distinction between the functions of kings and priests, not giving the former the power of administering the sacraments, preaching, excommunicating, absolving, and such like. Reproof of Mr. Dorman's book, 1565. fol. 123.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE TEMPORAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

The temporal establishment of the church by Christian magistrates, consists very much in the protection of its property, and in conferring on it certain temporal powers and privileges. But it is disputed by some, whether the church may lawfully receive any property or exercise any of the rights of property towards those who are without her pale, and whether her ministers may receive any temporal jurisdiction.

I. It has been pretended by some modern sectaries, that the ministers and the offices of religion ought always to be supported by the temporary contributions of the faithful, and that all permanent endowments are inconsistent with scripture. This seems to be founded on a view of the original condition of the church as represented in the New Testament, and in the history of the first two or three centuries, during which time the church seems to have possessed no permanent endowments.[a] But this affords no valid objection to their lawfulness, because the church was, at that time, persecuted by the civil magistrate, and was therefore unable to possess endowments. And since there is no precept whatever in the New Testament,[b] forbidding the faithful to provide permanently for the maintenance of religion, by donations of their lands or other property; (and "where no law is, there is no transgression;") since in the church of God under the former dispensation, lands and tithes were given in perpetuity to the sacerdotal tribe; since the church, from the

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[a] [Yet it appears from the decree of Constantine and Licinius at Milan, that before the Diocletian persecution, *i. e.* before the close of the third century, the Christian communities *had* held real estates beside their churches.]

[b] See Part III. ch. iv. for the lawfulness of rites and discipline not forbidden in Scripture.

moment in which it received the protection of the civil magistrate, universally and without scruple, received endowments: and, in fine, since all sectaries which support a ministry, and preserve an external face of religion, gladly and joyfully avail themselves of any endowment for their own religion: it is obvious, that the acquisition of temporal property by the church is perfectly lawful, as the Christian church has always believed it to be. The contrary error was long ago advanced by Wickliffe, and was most justly condemned by the western churches.

From the right of the church to possess endowments or property, it follows that she may exercise her right even with respect to persons, who, under the pretence of dissenting from her doctrine or communion, would relieve themselves from discharging their pecuniary obligations to her. For were this pretext to be allowed, her possession of property would be merely nominal; and an encouragement would be held out to forsake her communion, which she believes to be the way of salvation.[c] Therefore, she could not, without sin, admit the validity of any such plea.

If it be alleged that it is the duty of Christians to take patiently the spoiling of their goods, by those texts, "I say unto you that ye resist not evil," "charity suffereth long . . . seeketh not her own . . . endureth all things," &c.; I reply that these precepts refer to the general temper and spirit in which true Christians should act towards their enemies: they are not to employ force against force, not to contend eagerly for every point of their rights and properties, but to resort in case of great oppression to the constituted tribunals for relief. It was not the intention of our blessed Lord, that those who pretended to be His disciples, should use violence to the brethren, and then hypocritically exhort them on the duties of Christian charity. Our Lord Himself prescribes a mode of obtaining *redress* in such cases,[d] and St. Paul again mentions it; intimat-

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[c] See Part I. chap. i. sect. iii.

[d] Matt. xviii. 15, &c.

ing, at the same time, that the reason for which Christians were not to go to law before the civil tribunals, was only because those tribunals were heathen.[e] If individual Christians are justified in seeking redress of their private wrongs before the civil tribunals, much more is the church entitled to plead for the maintenance of that property which is set apart for the support of public worship, and of the ministers of religion.

II. That the church has not herself by the divine institution, any temporal jurisdiction, or any power of coercive force, has been already observed: but it has been alleged, that she cannot lawfully receive earthly dignities or jurisdiction, even by the gift of the state: because our Lord declared that "his kingdom is not of this world." If this argument were well founded, it would prove, not merely that the ministers of religion ought to refuse such temporal privileges, but that they are unlawful for *every* Christian, which is universally denied. If it be alleged that "no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life," and therefore that the ministers of Jesus Christ ought to avoid secular occupations, I reply that they certainly ought to do so as much as possible, and only to engage in those which neither entangle them in the affairs of the world, nor prevent them from discharging the duties of their high and sacred mission, but which are reasonably supposed to contribute to the influence of religion on the community. And such appear to be the tendencies of the temporal dignity and privileges enjoyed now and for so many ages in this country, by the chief ministers of the catholic and apostolic church.[f]

III. The state is therefore perfectly justified in permitting the endowment of the church with permanent property, in protecting that property, and in case of necessity, in contributing by

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[e] 1 Cor. v. 1, &c.

[f] [It is natural that they should be so regarded by one in the author's situation. The American student of the history of the Church in England, and on the continent of Europe, may derive from it a very different impression.]

its liberality to the general establishment and maintenance of Christian worship. The protection of ecclesiastical property is indeed so important a duty of the civil government, if it possess the means of doing so, that its neglect would at once prove the absence of any real desire to uphold the church. On the same principle the state would be justified in declaring the ecclesiastical tribunals to be established courts of law; in attributing to their cognizance certain temporal causes, such as those relating to testaments, and to the property of the church; some causes of a mixed nature, as those of marriages; and in adding temporal penalties to the excommunications which they denounce. I do not mean to affirm that the protection of the church by the state necessarily infers these privileges, or that they are all useful to the church under all circumstances, but only that they are lawful for the state to give and for the church to receive.

It may be added, that as all temporal jurisdiction emanates from the state; as all courts of judicial proceedings recognized by the state derive at least their external and coercive power from it: as all legal right to property emanates from the state; as every thing which has civil obligation or authority is in some sort derived from the state; therefore ecclesiastical courts, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, even the powers of order in the ministers of the church, may be said in a certain sense to be given by or derived from the prince; that is, in so far as they are *legally established*, and *externally coercive;* not as they are internal, spiritual, and binding on the conscience only.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE DUTY OF THE SOVEREIGN TO DEFEND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND DISCIPLINE.

I NOW proceed to prove that it has been always held by the catholic church, that Christian princes are bound to defend the faith and to enforce the canons by the "civil sword." Christian princes and states from the time of Constantine have invariably acted on this principle: heretics and schismatics have always imitated their example whenever they were able to do so. Therefore, it is certain that Christian princes have a right and a duty to protect the Christian faith and discipline by temporal power.

The sentiments of the Christian church and of Christian princes on this point, are no where more clearly manifested than in the history of the œcumenical synods. The first œcumenical synod was convened by the emperor Constantine, who was himself present during its proceedings, and who, at the close of them, addressed a letter to all churches, exhorting them to receive the decrees of the council; and enacted laws that Arius and his followers should be accounted infamous, and bear the name of Porphyrians; that their writings should be burnt; that whoever concealed those writings should suffer capital punishment; and that the Arians should pay ten times the usual amount of taxes.[a] [b] The second œcumenical synod of 150 bishops, in their synodical epistle to the emperor Theodosius having informed him of their decrees in faith and disci-

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[a] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. xi. s. 24.

[b] [It may tend to illustrate the whole subject to ask, concerning each of these instances of state protection, what was the effect? Did Constantine, *e. g.*, who so readily interfered to persecute the Arians, put down or *build up* Arianism?]

pline said, "We therefore entreat your piety to ratify the decision of the synod, that as you have honoured the church by letters of convocation, so also you would seal the definition agreed on;"[c] and accordingly the emperor made laws commanding all the churches to be delivered to those bishops who confessed the doctrine of the Trinity, and were in communion with Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, Pelagius of Laodicea, and other orthodox prelates; that all who did not agree with them in faith should be driven from the churches as manifest heretics; that no assemblies of heretics should be permitted, and that they should not build churches any where under pain of confiscation of their goods.[d] The third œcumenical synod of Ephesus, of 200 bishops, in their synodical epistle to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, applauded those princes for commanding the metropolitans and bishops to assemble in synod; and having announced to them their approbation of the Nicene faith, and of the epistles of St. Cyril, and their deposal of Nestorius, they conclude thus: "We entreat your majesty to command all his (Nestorius) doctrine to be banished from the holy churches, and his books, wherever found, to be burnt; in which books he endeavours to render of none effect the grace of God, who became man through his love towards man, which Nestorius regards not as such, but as an insult to the Divinity. And if any one despise your sanctions, let him apprehend the indignation of your majesty. For thus the apostolic faith will remain unhurt, confirmed by your piety, and we all shall offer earnest prayers for your majesty,"[e] &c. Accordingly, the emperor Theodosius, having confirmed the council, passed a law commanding the Nestorians to be termed Simonians, ordering their books to be suppressed and burnt publicly, and forbidding them to assemble

[c] Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 808.

[d] Fleury, liv. xviii. s. 9.

[e] Harduin. Concilia, t. i. p. 1444.

under penalty of confiscation of their goods.[f] John, patriarch of Antioch, also obtained orders from the emperor, that those schismatical bishops who refused to communicate with him, should be expelled from their churches by the civil power, and driven into exile.[g] [h]

The sixth session of the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon furnishes a remarkable proof of the doctrine of the church, with reference to the powers and duties of Christian princes. The emperor Marcian with his consort, attended by all the great officers of state, were present.[i] Marcian having made an allocution to the council, declaring his intention in assembling it to have been the confirmation of the catholic faith against all heresies; the archdeacon of Constantinople, by order of the emperor, read aloud the decree of the synod, with the subscriptions of 470 bishops. The emperor then demanded whether the council unanimously approved of that definition; and having heard the acclamations of all the bishops to that effect, he decreed, in the presence of the synod itself, that since the true faith had been made known by that holy œcumenical synod, it was right and expedient to remove all further contention: and therefore that any person who should collect assemblies to dispute concerning faith, should be banished from the city, if a private individual, and if a soldier or a clergyman, should be in danger of losing his office, besides being subject to other

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[f] Fleury, liv. xxvi. s. 34.

[g] Ibid. liv. xxvii. s. 28—33.

[h] [Nothing is more easy than to trace in the efforts to suppress the Donatist schism and Arian heresy, the rise and development of those notions concerning the relations of the civil power and the church, of which the text affords the historical illustration: but it would require an essay, rather than a marginal note. It is the less necessary, inasmuch as, by the Divine providence, the position of the church during the first three centuries has placed an effectual bar in the way of ever advancing the claim of primitive tradition and universal consent for the notions on this subject that gained currency in the fourth and fifth.]

[i] Harduin. Conc. t. ii. p. 463.

penalties.[k] This decree was received by all those holy bishops with the loudest acclamations of gratitude and satisfaction.

It would occupy too much space to carry this examination through the acts of other councils, which were confirmed and enforced by the laws of Christian emperors. The codex of Justinian comprises laws confirmatory of the catholic faith and discipline and the sacred canons, enacted by all the orthodox predecessors of that emperor from the time of Constantine,[l] as well as by himself; and the Novellæ comprise many others.

The emperor Charlemagne and his successors made laws confirmatory of the sacred canons.[m] The Saxon kings of England followed the same pious example.[n] The Norman kings made ecclesiastical laws.[o] Every Christian state from those days to the present, has supported the faith and discipline of the church by temporal enactments. The Reformation universally recognized this right in the civil magistrate. The Lutherans and the Calvinists alike invoked the assistance of the temporal power to enforce the religion of the Gospel and repress dissentients. Even the sects which arose at that time adopted the same principle. The Brownists declared that it was the duty of the magistrate to establish their religion and to expel that of the catholic church.[p] The Presbyterians would not tolerate the worship of those catholic churches which they had overthrown in the great rebellion. The Anabaptists, in their city of Munster, forbad all exercise of a religion differ-

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[k] Ibid. p. 487.

[l] The first Book of the Codex is well worthy of a perusal by those who wish to know the powers exercised by the Christian emperors in the primitive church. See also the Nomo-canon of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, where the imperial laws on ecclesiastical affairs are connected with the canons.

[m] See their capitulars in the collections of the councils.

[n] Bramhall mentions the ecclesiastical laws of Ercombert, Ina, Withred, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmond, Edgar, Athelred, Canute, and Edward the Confessor.—Works, p. 73. See Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Brit. t. i.

[o] Bramhall, ut supra.

[p] See Vol. I. p. 371.

ent from their own. The Independents of America acted on exactly the same principle. As for those small sects which deny the right of the civil magistrate to support the Christian doctrine and discipline by temporal means, they are obviously influenced only by a desire to weaken and subvert the churches from which they have separated.

The right and duty of the prince to employ the civil sword in defence of the faith and discipline of the catholic church, is most fully admitted even by those who limit his authority in ecclesiastical matters so far, as to render him rather the servant than the protector of the church. The papists of the ultramontane party allow that kings are bound to do so. Thus Champney says: "No one denies that kings in their own order and degree govern ecclesiastical affairs; that is to say, in making laws for the church, according to the tenor of the canons and the judgment of bishops; indeed this is *their chief office*, for which they are given the power of the sword by God."[q] Stapleton says, that a prince has the power "of making laws for the *peace of the church;* of proclaiming, defending, and vindicating *doctrines* against violation."[r] Bellarmine proves at length, that magistrates are bound to defend religion, and to do their utmost to cause the faith of the catholic bishops and the Roman pontiff to be held.[s] The same doctrine was maintained by the puritans. Cartwright said, that the civil magistrate hath to see that the laws of God touching his worship, and touching all matters and orders of the church, be executed and duly observed; and to see that every ecclesiastical person do that office whereunto he is appointed, and to punish those which fail in their office accordingly.[t] Fenner, another puri-

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q Champnæus de Vocat. Ministr. c. 16.

r Stapleton, Princip. Doctrin. lib. v. c. 17.

s Bellarminus de Membris Eccl. Milit. lib. iii. c. 18. See also Richerius de Eccl. et Polit. Pot. p. 76. ed. 1683; De Marca, De Concord. Sac. et Imp. l. iv. c. iv.

t T. C. lib. i. p. 192. cited in Hooker's Works, vol. iii. p. 443. ed. Keble.

tan, acknowledged that "the magistrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his sword,"[u] &c. The non-jurors, though little favourable to the regal supremacy, did not deny this power to the magistrate. Leslie says it was not his meaning that "temporal governments . . . should not exercise the civil sword for the good of men's souls."[v] Hickes approves the doctrine of certain Presbyterians, that "it pertains to the office of a Christian magistrate to fortify and assist the godly proceedings of the church; to assist and maintain the discipline of it,"[w] &c.

In fine, the doctrine and practice of these catholic and apostolic churches, and of our Christian sovereigns from the earliest ages, have always been conformable to that universally received. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, as I have said, made laws in defence of religion and ecclesiastical discipline. The church was united to the state, and the Christian religion became a part of the law of the land,[x] and when in the sixteenth century the church of England withdrew the jurisdiction which she had for a time delegated to the bishop of Rome, and, resuming her original liberties, reformed the abuses which had been suffered to increase amongst us, the state lent the benefit of its support to these salutary and catholic proceedings. The doctrine of the church at that time is shown by the "Institution of a Christian Man," approved by the bishops of England in 1538; in which it is declared that Christian kings have a special right by God's commandment "to defend the faith of Christ and his religion, to conserve and maintain the true doc-

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[u] Fenner's Defence of the godly Ministers. Ibid.

[v] Leslie, Supplement to the Regale and Pontificate, p. 4. 2d ed.

[w] Hickes, Christian Priesthood, p. 256. ed. 1707.

[x] So it was also in other Christian countries. The relations of church and state in France before the Revolution are thus described by Hooke, doctor of the Sorbonne: "Existere in Gallia ecclesiæ christianæ catholicæ et imperii unionem ac confœderationem manifestum; est et confessum; tamque esse intimam unionem hanc, ut evangelium sit lex regni, et religio catholica sit religio Gallorum nationalis."—Relig. Nat. et Rev. Princip. t. iii. p. 593.

trine of Christ . . . and to abolish all abuses, heresies, and idolatries, which be brought in by heretics and evil preachers, and to punish with corporal pains such as of malice be occasioners of the same; and, finally, to oversee and cause that the said priests and bishops do execute their said power, office, and jurisdiction truly, faithfully, and according in all points as it was given and committed unto them by Christ and his apostles: which notwithstanding, we may not think that it doth appertain unto the office of kings and princes to preach and teach, to administer the sacraments, to absolve, to excommunicate, and such other things belonging to the office and administration of bishops and priests,"[y] &c. The very same expressions are repeated in the "Necessary Doctrine," approved in 1543 by the bishops of England.[z] It is the doctrine of the church of England at this moment, that "the king's majesty hath the *same* authority in causes ecclesiastical that . . . . *Christian emperors of the primitive church*" possessed; the denial of this position involving excommunication *ipso facto*.[a] The same doctrine is taught by the thirty-seventh Article, which declares that godly princes have the power to "rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be *ecclesiastical* or temporal, and *restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers*." And the law of England most certainly recognizes this principle, since, by existing acts of parliament, *temporal penalties* are imposed on any persons who, professing to be members of the church, either establish a worship different from hers, or dare to violate their obligation as her ministers by teaching doctrines contrary to those which she approves. The conclusion which I draw from all these facts is, that Christian princes, members of the true church, have a right, and are bound in duty when necessary, to defend the faith and discipline of the true church existing in their dominions, by obliging its professing members to acquiesce in

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[y] Formularies of Faith, p. 121. Oxford ed.

[z] Ibid. p. 287.

[a] Canon ii.

the one and to submit to the other, by means of temporal power.

It is no objection to this conclusion, that several persons of note in modern times have held a contrary opinion. Those who do so are obliged to admit that it was never heard of till the seventeenth century after Christ: nor should we regard the authority of Locke and Warburton in this matter; for it is plain that they omitted in the theory of government on which which they based their doctrine, the GREAT TRUTH, that this world is subject to the supreme government of God, and that he disposes and determines the fate of nations according to His good pleasure.[b] These writers overlooked a truth, which even the heathens themselves remembered; and framed their theories as to the duty of civil government towards religion, not on an examination of the word of God, or of the universal sentiment and practice of men in all ages, but on merely abstract philosophical reasonings from the laws of nature, of policy, or of expediency.

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[b] See Locke's Letter on Toleration, and Warburton's Alliance of Church and State.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE CHRISTIAN SOVEREIGN.

It has been shown above that Christian princes have a right to protect the catholic faith and discipline. Let us now consider more particularly the means and ends of this protection, which will at once develope the doctrine of the regal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.[a]

It is necessary to premise, that since the duty of the Christian magistrate is to protect and not to subvert the church; to enforce, not to derange the discipline established in it by Jesus Christ; it follows that he is not entitled to intrude on the duties of the Christian ministry. He has no right to make definitions in faith or morals, to administer the sacraments, to excommunicate or absolve, or to perform any act whatever reserved to the Christian ministry by scripture or by the universal

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[a] The regal supremacy and the relations of church and state are treated of by Nowell, Reproof of Mr. Dorman's book, 1565, fol. 123; Hooker, book viii.; Whitgift, Defence of Answer to Admonition, tract. xx.; Bancroft, Survey of pretended holy discipline; Bilson, True Difference between Christian subjection, &c., 1585: Andrewes Tortura Torti, p. 162, &c.; Mason, De Minister. Anglic.; Field, Of the Church, b. v. c. 53; Bramhall, Schism guarded, &c.; Stillingfleet, Of Eccl. Jurisdiction, Works, vol. iii.; Wake, Appeal on the King's Eccl. Supremacy, 1698. See also De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et imperii; Edmund. Richerii Tract. De Eccles. et Polit. Potest. Colon. 1683; Rechberger, Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriaci; Van Espen, Tractatus de Recursu ad Principem, Tract. De Promulgatione Leg. Eccl.; Hooke, Religionis Nat. et Revel. t. iii.; De Hontheim, Febronius de Stat. præsenti Ecclesiæ. Taylor, in his Ductor Dubitantium, furnishes considerable information; but his views of the royal prerogative in church and state apparently exceed the truth.

and immemorial ecclesiastical discipline, because this would be in violation of the very principle of protecting the church.

1. The first immediate end of this protection is to preserve unchangeably the existing catholic faith and discipline of the church. Hence, the prince has the right to repress heresies and schisms contrary to this doctrine and discipline. And in consequence he is entitled to *convene synods* for the determination of controversies, to *confirm* and execute their decrees, to make *injunctions* or ecclesiastical laws derived from the canons and decrees of councils; and in fine, to repress the attempts even of clergy or of particular synods, to alter the orthodox doctrine and discipline.

Accordingly, Christian emperors and kings have always exercised the right of *convening national synods.* The genuine œcumenical councils even were all assembled by command of the Christian emperors.[b] The kings of France assembled national synods.[c] The canons of the churches of England and Ireland acknowledge the right of the king to call national synods.[d]

Christian kings have also *confirmed* synods. The general synods were confirmed by the emperors. The Spanish synods were confirmed by the Gothic kings of Spain. The decree of the Gallican synod of 1682 was confirmed by Louis XIV. Those of the English synod in 1562 and 1571 were confirmed by queen Elizabeth: the synod in 1603–4 by James the first: the synods of Ireland in 1634 and 1711 by Charles the first, and queen Anne. And this power of princes may also be exercised in *rejecting* the decrees of a synod if it be injurious to the catholic discipline, to the privileges of the church, or to the laws

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[b] See Part IV. Chapter ix.

[c] *E. g.* the synod of Frankfort convened by Charlemagne. See Part IV. Chapter x. section iv. Also those of Tours, Cabilon, and others, assembled by that prince. See Bramhall, Works, p. 318, 319.

[d] Synod 1603–4, Canon 139; Synod of Dublin, 1634, Canon 100.

of the state.[e] Accordingly, the kings of France, Spain, Germany, &c. refused to permit the publication of the decrees even of *general synods* in their realms, except with such qualifications as were necessary to secure the liberties of the church and state.

The right of making ecclesiastical laws I shall presently notice further. The power of repressing innovations was exercised by the great queen Elizabeth, when some of the clergy, sanctioned by some of the prelates, established irregular meetings, called "prophecyings;" and when certain persons attempted to publish articles of doctrine on predestinarian points.

2. Another end of the state's protection of the church, is the preservation of unity and subordination in the church. Hence, it is reasonable that the prince should have a right to command superfluous controversies to cease, a power which was abused by the emperors Heraclius and Constans in issuing the Ecthesis and Typus; and which the emperor Charles V. exercised at one time during the Reformation, as Joseph II. did in the eighteenth century,[f] and king James the first in the early part of the seventeenth century, in that royal proclamation which still is printed at the beginning of the Thirty-nine Articles. Of course the prince has also a right to urge the prelates of the church to suppress superfluous controversies, and to give them any temporal assistance requisite for the purpose. The guardianship of the church's peace also renders it fit that the Christian prince should receive *appeals* from the tribunals of the church, when it is alleged that the laws of the church have not been adhered to, and that the ecclesiastical judge has abused his power. This right has been acknowledged from the time of Constantine the great, who received the appeal of the Donatists, ordered their cause

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[e] This privilege, which is exercised by all the princes of the Roman Obedience is called the royal *Placet*. See Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr. § 271; Van Espen, De Promulg. Legum Eccl. See also Hooke, Relig. Nat. et Rev. t. iii. p. 596. 598; Febronius, cap. v. s. ii.

[f] See Vol. I. p. 437.

to be reheard by a different tribunal, and at last condemned them himself.[g] In almost every state of Europe under the Roman dominion, the temporal courts or the state take cognizance of appeals "*ab abusu*," and compel the ecclesiastical judges to correct their proceedings by means of temporal penalties.[h] The parliaments of France fined and imprisoned those who refused to administer the rights of the church to the appellants from the bull Unigenitus.[i] Thus, also, the sovereign of England receives appeals from the highest ecclesiastical courts, and delegates judges, ecclesiastical and lay, to rehear the cause, and do justice.

3. Another end of the sovereign's protection of the church, is the reformation of abuses and defects which render our discipline less perfect, or which are in any respect prejudicial to Christian piety or religion. This again shows the right of the sovereign to assemble synods, and to exhort the bishops and clergy to correct these evils, as the emperors Charlemagne and his successors did in France and Germany, when discipline was so far collapsed: a proceeding which they justified by the example of Josiah and the other pious kings of Judah. It also infers the right of sovereigns to make ecclesiastical injunctions,[k] as Justinian,[l] Charlemagne, Charles the Bald,[m] Sigismund,[n]

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[g] [Again, it may be not amiss to ask the question, With what result? There can be, at least, no favourable presumption in behalf of measures so signally inefficient. The Donatists throve until they were let alone, and then they died.]

[h] Van Espen, Tract. de Recursu ad Principem. Fleury, Droit Eccl.

[i] Vol. I. p. 304.

[k] Rechberger, chancellor of Lintz, says that Christian princes have not only frequently confirmed the canons of the church, "but have also of their own accord enacted laws on disciplinary matters in any way connected with the welfare of the state," &c.—Enchr. Jur. Eccl. Austr. § 38, p. 28. See also Febronius, c. v. s. 2; c. ix. s. 6.

[l] Justinian's Novellæ were received with great approbation by the church. —See De Marca, l. ii. c. 11.

[m] See their Capitulars in the Collections of the Councils.

[n] See his Reformation, containing 37 chapters respecting the pope, car-

Charles V.[o] the kings of France, St. Louis,[p] Philip IV.[q] Charles VI.,[r] Charles VII.,[s] Charles IX.,[t] Henry VIII. of England, and Elizabeth did, in times when their interposition was eminently called for by prevailing abuses. They have even reformed abuses and made regulations in public worship.[u] On the same principle, the sovereign may, if necessary, urge the bishops and clergy to residence, and to a more zealous discharge of their sacred duties.

4. Since the state is bound to give the greatest efficiency possible to the church, a Christian king may, with the advice of bishops, *found and endow new bishoprics*, and call on the

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dinals, and bishops, suffragans, abbots, monks, friars, nuns, &c. made in 1436. —Goldast. Const. Imp. part i. p. 170.

[o] The Interim, published in 1548.

[p] His Pragmatic Sanction, 1268, related to elections, promotions, collations of benefices, &c.—See the Table Chronologique des Loix Eccles. at the end of Fleury, Droit Eccl. ed. 1767.

[q] On the union of benefices in his gift (1330). Ib.

[r] That ecclesiastics shall not take cognizance of the crime of adultery (1388). Ib.

[s] That no strangers can possess benefices in France (1431). The Pragmatic Sanction, made in the parliament at Bourges in 1438, established various points of discipline of the synod of Basil. Ib.

[t] The ordonnance made by this king and the assembly or parliament assembled at Orleans, 1560, contains 29 articles relating to ecclesiastical discipline. In one of them the payment of *Annates* is prohibited.—See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. clv. s. 12. Other ecclesiastical regulations were made in the parliament at Moulins, 1566.

[u] Thus Justinian, in his 137th Novella, commanded that the canon of the Liturgy should be repeated aloud by the officiating minister. Charles V., in the Interim, reserves to himself the right of making such regulations as he may judge fit, where abuse has crept into the administration of the sacraments. The emperor Charlemagne and the kings of Spain introduced the Roman liturgy into their dominions. The emperor Joseph II. made several regulations concerning public worship. — See vol. i. p. 306—308. Rechberger says, by the Austrian law the emperor may limit religious rites, such as feast days, processions, pilgrimages, vigils, and also appoint public prayers in calamitous times.—Sect. 279. p. 219.

church to consecrate pastors for them, and to assign them a suitable jurisdiction. The right of erecting sees was exercised by the emperors Charlemagne[v] and Louis,[w] by the Greek emperors, (who were even held by the oriental canonists to have the sole power of erecting new sees,[x]) by the English kings Henry I.,[y] Henry VIII., and Charles I.;[z] and it is vested by law in the emperors of Austria,[a] &c. The power of ordering a new circumscription of ancient dioceses, when necessary, seems to be a proper exercise of this same power.[b] It can seldom be necessary to *suppress* sees, because it is not often that the number of the faithful is so reduced in any church as to render it expedient to unite them with another church; but if such a suppression be really calculated on the whole to confer benefit on the catholic church, it seems that the Christian prince may with the advice of qualified advisers unite churches, and call on the church to confirm the act by their future proceedings.[c]

We may now see how reasonable and catholic was the oath of regal supremacy prescribed by the parliament of queen Elizabeth, and still subscribed by the clergy of England. This formulary declares that "the king's majesty under God is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other his high-

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[v] See Bramhall, Works, p. 236.

[w] He erected the archbishopric of Hamburg.—See Adam. Bremens. Hist. Eccl. c. 17.

[x] Thomassinus de vet. et nov. Eccl. Discipl. P. i. l. i. c. 56.

[y] "Rex Henricus abbatiam Eliensem in episcopalem sedem commutavit."—M. Paris, 1119.

[z] See his charter founding the see of Edinburgh, in Keith's Scottish bishops.

[a] Rechberger, Jur. Eccl. Austr. § 274. p. 214.

[b] Ibid. Joseph II. exercised this power.—See Vol. I. p. 308.

[c] The suppression of bishoprics in Ireland some years ago, being obviously intended not for the welfare but the injury of the church, was an act to which this rule could not apply. Nothing but the apprehension of still greater evils, and especially those which might have arisen from the want of *unanimity* in the church herself on that occasion, could have imposed on that church any obligation of yielding to so unjust an act.

ness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal."[d] Now, it is certain that the Christian kings of England have, like other Christian princes, the right of protecting the church's faith and discipline, making laws conformable to them, convening synods, presiding in them, confirming them, and obliging, by the civil sword, all members of the church, both clergy and laity, to profess its doctrines and remain in unity and subordination. This is a power which may most justly be called government, and it is this power to which the oath of supremacy refers. The thirty-seventh Article also ascribes to the prince the "chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes;" and the right to "rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal; and restrain with the *civil sword* the stubborn and evil doers." This is the whole doctrine of the church of England, as to the authority of the Christian magistrate in religion; in which she does not teach us that the prince may impose on his people false doctrines or discipline injurious to religion; or deprive the churches of their ancient rights; or abrogate the canons; or make definitions in faith; or usurp the sacerdotal office; or do any thing else injurious to the sanctity, the purity, and the efficiency of the church. She gives him only the power of befriending religion, and of exercising an external government by temporal means, which cannot fail to be of great use in repressing the disorders of those who would otherwise neglect or depise the sacred discipline. And *this* indeed is a power which could not be refused even to a monarch not united to the church. So that, even if the throne were occupied by a heretic or schismatic, as James the second was, the church might still very justly admit his ecclesiastical supremacy, that is, his right to protect the faith and discipline of the catholic church established amongst us, and to use the civil sword to oblige all its members to unity and obedience.

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[d] Canon xxxvi.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE EXPULSION OF BISHOPS BY THE TEMPORAL POWER.

The civil magistrate not being invested with the power to punish by spiritual censures, as all our theologians hold, he is only to use the "civil sword" in protecting and supporting the church as above. It has been disputed whether, under any circumstances, he may expel bishops from their sees. This question was argued with much warmth in the reign of king William, when several bishops were expelled from their sees by the temporal power, in consequence of their refusal to take the oaths to the new government, enjoined by law.

It appears to me on the whole, that though the only regular and ordinary mode of removing a bishop is by an ecclesiastical judgment, there are particular cases in which the temporal power is justified, even without any previous sentence by the ordinary ecclesiastical tribunal, in expelling a bishop from his see. First, the right will not be denied[a] in a case where the occupant of a see is a usurper or intruder, uncanonically appointed. Secondly, the practice of the church seems to favour the opinion, that when a bishop is *manifestly* heretical, when he *manifestly* and obstinately

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[a] [*I. e.* on the supposition that the state is bound to interfere. But either the church is competent of herself to correct the evil, or not. If not, she is imperfect, incapable of accomplishing her mission, and essentially dependent on the state. If she be competent, the state is an intruder, and the case of Uzzah is an applicable warning.

The *right* on the part of the state may grow out of endowments; because, if the church has accepted them, undoubtedly the state is bound to see that she rightly uses them. But this, in connexion with the foregoing remark, rather affords an argument *against the acceptance of endowments* from the civil power, than for the interference of the state in the administration of church discipline.]

opposes the judgment of the catholic church, when he is *manifestly* and *notoriously* guilty of any crime which by the law of the catholic church involves his degradation, and when there is urgent necessity for his immediate removal, or difficulty in assembling a synod; then a Christian prince may justly *expel* and drive him from his see by temporal force, and procure the ordination of another bishop in his place. This, however, is a temporal punishment, and is not to be understood as a usurpation of the spiritual office of *degradation*, which can only be performed by bishops, according to the immemorial custom of the catholic church. Indeed, the New Testament does not exactly prescribe the tribunal which is to deprive unworthy ministers of the gospel. The Old furnishes us with the case of Solomon "thrusting out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord,"[b] in consequence of his treasonable practices: "and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar."[c] Whatever explanation be offered of this, the fact remains, that Solomon expelled one who had been priest, and put another in his place. Whether the Christian emperors in the primitive church were influenced by this example, I know not; but certain it is, that the ecclesiastical laws of the emperor Justinian and his predecessors, repeatedly threaten expulsion or deprivation of their offices, to those bishops and clergy who should transgress the canons.[d] The emperor Marcian declared, in the presence of the council of Chalcedon, that any clergy who disputed further after the decision of that synod, should lose their offices.[e] The emperor Theodosius, at the request of John, patriarch of Antioch, gave orders to expel by temporal force from their sees, those schismatical bishops who refused to communicate with that patriarch.[f] In subsequent ages, the Eastern emperors exercised this power continually, and sometimes most scandalously abused it.[g] The archbishops and bishops of England, in the

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[b] 1 Kings, ii. 27. [c] Verse 35.

[d] Justinian. Novella 123. See also De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdot. et Imperii, lib. iv. c. i. art. vi. c. 18.

[e] Harduin. Concilia, t. ii. p. 487.

[f] Fleury, liv. xxvii. s. 28—33.

[g] See Hody's "Case of sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical depri-

"Necessary Doctrine," published A.D. 1543, held this doctrine; admitting that Christian kings have the right to see that bishops and priests execute their pastoral office truly and faithfully, &c. "and if they obstinately withstand their prince's kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put other in their rooms and places."[h]

These facts seem to me to furnish very probable reasons for thinking, that in the case of *manifest* offences which merit degradation, and where there is a great necessity, the Christian prince may justly expel bishops from their sees. It is true, that this power may be abused: so may every other branch of the ecclesiastical supremacy, without exception: and so also may the power of the church itself. But the safeguards to the church in this and similar matters are, first, the obligation of the catholic prince to have only in view the welfare of the catholic church, and therefore his bounden duty to consult the most learned and orthodox prelates, before he takes any important steps in ecclesiastical affairs; and secondly, the right of the church to remonstrate, and, finally, in case of extreme danger to religion, or extreme injustice, to disobey the will of the temporal prince.

If there were so extreme an injustice in the expulsion of bishops by the temporal power, that Christian charity would forbid the church to lend her countenance to it, and that the security of religion were at stake; the church would neither consecrate new bishops for the sees thus vacated, nor communicate with any who might be intruded into them by temporal force. Where she does not offer any such opposition, she judges that the act is either laudable or tolerable, and dispenses with any irregularity.[i]

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vation," 1693, the tract by Nicepherous Callistus, published by Hody, 1691, and that of Methodius, in the third volume of the Ancient Remains by Angelo Maio, p. 217, &c.

[h] Formularies of Faith, p. 287.

[i] [The acquiescence of the church in the act seems to be more naturally accounted for by *the fact*, that such expulsions are results of the acceptance of endowment, by which the church has surrendered her self-control, and bound herself to suffer the interference of the civil power.]

It is most highly improbable, if not impossible, that any case should occur in which a catholic prince, with the advice of bishops, should make regulations which the catholic church of his country would judge to be subversive of, or dangerous to, the Christian faith or discipline: but if such a case should occur, the church would be bound to suffer any temporal penalties rather than yield to the commands of the prince. When there is no such manifest danger, the church ought to exhibit a willingness to comply with the injunctions of the temporal sovereign, "not only for wrath but for conscience' sake," who on his part would act most wisely by avoiding even the appearance of arbitrary domination, or of needless interference in spiritual affairs, which could not fail to diminish the influence of religion, and to excite dissension and dissatisfaction in the community.

If it be objected that by claiming for the church the right to disobey the command of the temporal ruler, in *any case*, an '*imperium in imperio*' is established, I reply, that even by the English law no one of those bodies in whom the power of the state is vested, ought to attempt to annihilate the essential powers and privilege of any other. The king is bound to preserve the powers of his parliament: the commons cannot rightfully invade the privileges of the lords. In case of any such attempt each estate would be entitled to maintain its essential rights even against the regal authority. If this be the case in a temporal constitution which is based only on human custom and human law, how much more right has the church to retain and defend those sacred institutions which God himself has entrusted to her care, which the Almighty King of kings has commanded her to observe even to the end of the world.

It should be remarked however, that the church is by no means bound to insist on every occasion on the full exercise even of her undoubted rights and privileges: still less is she bound to oppose the will of Christian sovereigns because there may be some informality in the mode of proceeding, some apparent want of respect for her constituted authorities. Many things have been done irregularly in various ages, which the church has tolerated, and even approved afterwards: and the truth is, that she has not unfrequently been obliged to submit patiently to invasions of her rights, which she much lamented, and would gladly have avoided.

APPENDIX II.

ON NOMINATION TO BISHOPRICS, AND ON SYNODS AND CONVOCATIONS.

1. It may be reasonably questioned whether the right of nomination to bishoprics is enjoyed by the kings of England and most other catholic monarchs by virtue of their ecclesiastical supremacy. It is certain that for a long time the church elected her own pastors: nor does it seem that if she had continued to do so, the general supremacy of the Christian prince would have been in any degree affected. However, the church has certainly very frequently consented [a] that the prince should nominate bishops;[b] reserving of course her own right to decline accepting any persons of unsound faith or morals, or in any respect disqualified by the law of God.[c] Nor, perhaps, would it be easy to find a more convenient system under existing circumstances, though it could never be just or righteous to force bishops by the penalties of *premunire* to consecrate persons against whose faith or character just exceptions might be taken. "A bishop must be *blame-*

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[a] [Why? on the ground of right acquired by endowment, in the first instance, always. The claim of control over the *jurisdiction* of the bishop by the civil power was an afterthought, growing out of dispute concerning the exercise of the other right.]

[b] The kings of England have for many ages nominated to bishoprics. The Saxon and early Norman kings certainly did so.—See vol. i. p. 428. The Statute of provisors, 25 Edward III. enacted that the king should appoint to all archbishopries and other dignities.—See Bramhall, Works, p. 75. Therefore, the Statute in the reign of Henry VIII. was only declaratory of the ancient law of England.

[c] [As a question of fact, *can* the church in any existing establishment—*dare* she—use that right? If not—what security has the church so situated for the preservation of her purity? what means of discharging her trust from God as a keeper of the precious deposit of faith and grace?]

less," and this scriptural rule ought to be recognized by the law of every Christian state, as well as practically and in fact.[d]

2. It may also be most reasonably questioned, whether the supremacy of the temporal power infers not merely the right of assembling synods, but the *exclusive* right of calling them. The universal practice of the church for many centuries is opposed to the notion that all synods must be convened either by the Roman pontiff or by the temporal sovereign. The canons required provincial synods to be held twice every year: it is plain that the emperors and kings were not troubled with requests to hold such synods, but that the metropolitans of every province assembled them by their own writ. Such was certainly the case in England, where, as archbishop Wake says, "the provincial synod was held by the sole power of the metropolitan: the king might sometimes approve of, or advise the calling of it; but I believe it will be *hard to find out any one instance* wherein he required the archbishop by any royal writ to assemble such a council."[e] To these provincial synods the bishops alone were of necessity summoned,[f] and they only had a decisive voice. Their office was to take cognizance of appeals from particular dioceses, to judge bishops and metropolitans, and to enact canons for the province. This *latter* power, which had frequently been exercised by provincial synods without seeking the permission of the crown, was, in the reign of Henry the eighth, relinquished by the clergy so far as related to *enacting new canons without the royal consent:* a submission which was only consistent with the harmonious co-operation of church and state, and which is in fact enforced by every sovereign in Europe, with or without the consent of the clergy.

But it is a different question, whether provincial synods may not meet simply by the writ of the metropolitan, and proceed, with-

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[d] [In theory, this may be well enough: but "practically" does experience prove the state *likely* to be a fit judge? The author's caveat, of itself, is sufficiently expressive.]

[e] Wake, State of the Church and Clergy, p. 27. See also Kennett, Eccles. Synods, p. 201, 202.

[f] Ibid. p. 107, 108. 111, &c.

out making new canons, to act on the old canons. It is true that Coke[g] and other lawyers assert that no such synod can meet without the king's writ, basing themselves on the submission of the clergy in the reign of Henry VIII., and on the common law or ancient customs of England evidenced by authentic history; but I doubt not that a constitutional lawyer, less anxious to extend the prerogative of the crown than to give due consideration to justice, and to the genuine voice of history, might be able to prove that the right of the English metropolitans to assemble provincial synods without the royal writ, is still in fact the common law of England.

With regard to the submission of the clergy, in which they declared that "all convocations had been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ, and promised *in verbo sacerdotii* never for the future to enact any new canons in their convocations without the king's license,"[h] it appears to me that this submission, and the act which comprises it, relate to *convocations only*, not to provincial synods, because it is as notorious that the former have always been summoned by the king's writ, as it is that the latter were not so. The whole clergy and the whole parliament of England could scarcely have been so devoid of information or of veracity as to affirm, that *provincial synods* had always been assembled by the king's writ; it would seem, therefore, that they must in this submission and act have only meant to refer to convocations properly so called.[i] In Ireland the clergy made no such submission, and provincial synods have continued to be held by the metropolitans without the king's writ even to the present day.[k]

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[g] Coke, 4 Inst. 322, 323.

[h] Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

[i] Atterbury limits it to *parliamentary* meetings of the clergy.—On convocation, p. 82. ed. 1700. If the term "convocations" were taken to mean *any* meeting of the clergy, it would be illegal even for a bishop to hold his visitation.

[k] I learned from the late eminent metropolitan, archbishop Magee, that the provincial synod of Dublin has usually been assembled at intervals of 30 or 40 years, to exercise the right; and that he had himself held such a synod, which in his opinion even possessed the power of making canons. Bishop Bedel made canons in the diocesan synod of Kilmore, A. D. 1638,

The church never flourished more, nor was the authority of Christian princes ever more revered, than when provincial or national synods of bishops assembled every year to enforce the discipline of the church. Yet, strictly speaking, the assembly of such synods is not absolutely essential to maintain ecclesiastical discipline, or even to the introduction of reforms and improvements in the church: for the former may be effected by each bishop in his own diocese, while the bishops themselves may be responsible to the metropolitan and other bishops, and to the king: and the latter may be effected by means of royal injunctions or ecclesiastical laws made with the advice of bishops, and accepted by the church dispersed. For as the bishops and pastors of the church have *always* the authority of successors of the apostles, whether they be assembled in synod or not: as particular churches may accept and act on the decrees and regulations of synods in which they have not been actually represented: as the authority of the œcumenical synods themselves rests finally on their *acceptance* by the church *dispersed;* it follows that regulations of discipline in themselves lawful, and made by the authority of the crown, whether with or without the confirmation of parliament, may be adopted and executed by the church; and if they are so accepted, they are invested with the canonical authority of other ecclesiastical laws and customs.

3. The convocations or assemblies of the clergy in England, France, Germany, Sweden,[1] were called together by the king for temporal purposes, chiefly in order to furnish pecuniary aids to the crown.

The English convocations seem to have arisen in the following manner. After the Norman conquest the national councils, styled variously *conventus*, *placitum*, *concilium*, *synodus*, *colloquium*, and in the thirteenth century *parlamentum*, consisted of bishops,

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for which see Wilkins's Concilia, t. iv. p. 537. The lord deputy of Ireland, it seems, was unable legally to prevent this or to trouble the bishop. —See Burnet's Life of Bedel.

[1] See this subject discussed by Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. P. ii. l. iii. c. 45—57.

abbots, earls, and barons; the commons and inferior clergy being not yet summoned by the king's writ.

It was in the thirteenth century when the Roman pontiffs began to demand taxes on ecclesiastical benefices, that the convocation, comprizing the inferior clergy, took its rise.[m] Taxes were now to be imposed not only on *lands*, but on *tithes* and *oblations*, to which the consent of their owners was necessary. In 1246, the archdeacons were called together by the king's writ to consult of a subsidy for the crusade, which the council of Lyons had ordered to be paid by all the clergy,[n] and in 1256, on occasion of another exaction, they were ordered by the archbishop to bring procuratorial letters from the clergy.[o] It was not till about the end of the reign of Henry III., that the inferior clergy were called to parliament. In 1282, king Edward the first, having summoned to the parliament of Northampton, bishops, abbots, and the proctors of deans and chapters, they refused to grant aid unless a fuller assembly of the clergy was called "*more debito*;" and in the meeting so called were deans, archdeacons, proctors of chapters and of the clergy.[p] In 1295, they were again summoned to parliament, and for the first time by the clause "*præmunientes*" inserted in the writ of each bishop, by which he was admonished to bring certain clergy of his diocese to parliament.[q]

When the bishops, deans, archdeacons, proctors of chapters and clergy attended the parliament, and when they sat in a congregation or chamber apart from the rest, the convocation, properly so called, was complete in its general outline.

For a long time the convocation formed *one* house. On various occasions, however, from A.D. 1376, the inferior clergy were desired to withdraw, while the bishops deliberated on the grievances and other affairs of the church. In 1415, the inferior clergy seem first to have elected a prolocutor to be their spokesman with the

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[m] White Kennett, Eccles. Synods, p. 124.
[n] Hody, Hist. English Councils, p. 328.
[o] Kennett, p. 125; Hody, part ii. p. 108.
[p] Hody, p. 378. 381; part ii. p. 138, 139.
[q] Hody, p. 385—392.

bishops and others.[r] It became their custom to withdraw at the beginning of convocation into a lower house, being the chapel under the church of St. Paul's, to elect their prolocutor, and consider of their grievances; but they afterwards assembled in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, with the bishops and abbots, and it does not seem that they formed a chamber permanently apart from the greater prelates till *late* in the fifteenth century.

Though convocations were summoned for temporal objects, still when assembled they were virtually provincial synods, as they comprised all their members, and therefore they sometimes acted as such, and even took the title. In fact, there seems no reason why bishops who are assembled for a temporal purpose, should be disqualified from taking cognizance of spiritual affairs if necessary, and thus acting in a synodical capacity. It is their authority as ministers of Jesus Christ and successors of the apostles, which gives them a right to make decisions in a synod; not the mere mode or reason of their assembling. Therefore, it does not appear essential to a synod, that it should have been formally convened *as a synod*. We find that a convocation in 1400, judged in the case of heresy.[s] Bishop Kennet says, that no canons were made by convocations till the reign of Henry VII.[t] However, the submission of the clergy and the act of parliament both suppose that convocations may make canons with the royal permission; and in fact, the various reformations made in these churches from that time, have been generally, if not always, effected by convocations, which were styled by themselves and by the temporal power, "provincial" or "national synods."[u] The same thing has also occurred in France.

The power of the crown with regard to convocation is very great. It is its undisputed prerogative, not only to assemble convocation, but to prevent its deliberations, prorogue and dissolve it at pleasure. The assembly of the Gallican clergy was subject to the same influence as ours. The king of France convoked it, pre-

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[r] Ibid. part ii. p. 256. [s] Hody, part ii. p. 247. [t] Kennet, p. 57.

[u] The Gallican assemblies of clergy or convocations made regulations in discipline and doctrine in 1561 (See Fleury, liv. 157. s. 35, 36.) and in 1682.

scribed the subjects of debate, and terminated it when he pleased.[v] With regard to the constitution of convocation in England, I may perhaps be allowed to observe, that were it desirable that so large a body should be permitted to deliberate on the affairs of the church generally, and that the principle of a formal representation of the clergy of the second order should be adhered to, it would be necessary as a preliminary, to determine the respective privileges of the two houses of convocation: nor does it seem that under the constitution of that assembly at present, the parochial clergy are so fully represented, as the numbers, the learning, the orthodoxy, and the high principle of that admirable body of men so amply entitle them to be.

In concluding these observations on the royal supremacy, I must again protest, that the doctrine of the church of England on this point is not to be determined by preambles of acts of parliament, by the assertions of lawyers, or by the sentiments and actions of princes in modern times. We are not bound to admit the soundness of all those doctrines, or the rectitude of all those acts. We subscribe only to the truth of the doctrine taught by the church of England in her articles and canons, and will not consent to be tried except by them and by the principles they lay down. Whatever we may have to complain of in such matters, is not peculiar to these churches. Those who claim greater independence than we do generally, have in fact been obliged to content themselves with less. Bouvier, bishop of Mans, may well say, "Whoever is not altogether ignorant of the ecclesiastical history of the last century, cannot be unaware of the many modes in which the civil authority injured the *spiritual* power of the (Gallican) church, under the name of 'Liberty.' The most zealous defenders of our liberties have more than once complained bitterly of the royal officers and magistrates, who thus transgressed their legitimate authority."[w] Bossuet wrote to cardinal d'Estrées, "I have proposed two things to myself; first, in speaking of the liberties of

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[v] See Vol. I. p. 428.

[w] Bouvier, De Vera Ecclesia p. 386, See proofs of this, Vol. I. p. 304.

the Gallican church, to do so without diminishing the real grandeur of the holy see; secondly, to explain them *as they are understood by the bishops, and not as they are understood by the magistrates*."[x] Fenelon said, "The king in practice is more the *head* of the church in France than the pope. Liberties with regard to the pope, servitudes with regard to the king. The authority of the king devolved to lay judges: those laymen rule the bishops. The enormous abuses of the *appel d'abus*,"[y] &c. Fleury says, "But the great servitude of the Gallican church, if I may say so, is the excessive extent of the secular jurisdiction." "A bad Frenchman might make a treatise on the servitudes of the Gallican church, as they have done on its liberties, and he would not be in want of *proofs*."[z] I merely adduce this to show that our case is not, at *least*, worse than that of other nations: and that whatever chagrin may be felt on any such points, is not heightened, but soothed by comparison with the condition of other churches supported by the state. The value of this support is of no small moment to the church: it is not lightly to be thrown away. The most holy bishops in every age have approved it, and even borne with patience the defects, the faults, the *interference* of temporal magistrates. It is the duty of the faithful to pray that their princes and magistrates may be inspired with greater zeal for the faith, and in the meanwhile to hope that the Divine Head and Governor of the church will, in due time, cause better and happier days to arise.

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[x] Histoire de Bossuet, t. ii. p. 125, cited by Bouvier, 387.

[y] Cited by Bouvier from the Life of Fenelon by De Bausset; Pièces justific. du livre vii. no. 8.

[z] Nouveaux Opuscules de Fleury, p. 89. 97. Ibid.

CHAPTER VII.

CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES SOLVED.

In the preceding chapters I have only been contemplating the case of Christian princes of the catholic church: I do not pretend to deduce from the gospel the duties of heathen or heretical princes towards the true religion. But it remains to consider here the cases of a Christian king with a heathen or heretical people, and of a Christian people with a heretical or infidel king.

If a Christian king should be placed at the head of a heathen or heretical people, his duty should lead him to encourage the spread of true religion without violence or compulsion, because it was not the commandment of Jesus Christ that his religion should be propagated by weapons of carnal warfare; and converts made by temporal force are never likely to be sincere adherents to the catholic faith. A Christian sovereign may even promise to defend the property and other legal rights of an established sect, (as our monarchs do with reference to the presbyterian community in Scotland), and ought, in that case, to adhere to his promise in good faith; but he could not, without a violation of his duty to God and to the nation, preclude himself from benefitting and promoting the cause of the true church.

If the Christian church in any country, having been neglected or persecuted by an unbelieving prince, should receive from that prince an offer of relief and support, on condition that he was permitted to exercise certain privileges in the church, it would be entirely in the power of the church to decide whether the adoption of such a proposal would leave an abundant security for the catholic faith and discipline; and if she judged either to be endangered, she would be at perfect liberty to re-

ject the proposal; because her first duty is to maintain the ordinances of God.

If a Christian church which had formerly been protected by the zeal and piety of Christian princes, should in the course of ages behold the power of heretics or infidels influencing the state, and estranging it from her: if she beheld a weak government consenting, or a wicked government labouring to withdraw those safeguards with which ancient piety and wisdom had surrounded her: what should be her duty except to offer respectful and Christian remonstrance while she is allowed to offer it; to bear with patience and humility what must be borne, in the hope of better times; to be cautious that injuries shall not excite her to imprudent acts which might only increase her difficulties; and, in fine, to guard with unshaken fidelity, the faith and the discipline which she has received from scripture and catholic tradition.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON TOLERATION.

I have already observed that it was not the will of our Lord Jesus Christ that his church should compel unbelievers to unite themselves to her communion by force of arms. He neither conferred any temporal power on his ministers, nor willed that any but believers should be baptized. It would be entirely alien to the Christian spirit to use harshness or cruelty to any human being, even to idolaters or infidels. On the contrary, Christians are bound to "do good to all men," and, as far as possible, to live at peace with them. But while this is most fully admitted, it seems not unnecessary to consider briefly the question of toleration, and the principles on which it is sometimes, indeed too frequently, advocated; because it affects not only the character of the Christian church and Christian sovereigns from the age of Constantine, but the very laws under which these churches have so long flourished.

Let us first consider the laws now existing, which establish the discipline and doctrine of this catholic church. By the act 1st Elizabeth, any minister of the church rejecting the use of the Book of Common-Prayer, or employing different forms and ceremonies, is liable to forfeit the yearly profit of his benefice, and to be imprisoned for six months for the first offence; to suffer imprisonment for a year, and be deprived *ipso facto* of his benefices in case of a second offence; and for a third, to suffer imprisonment for life, besides losing his benefices. Any person libelling the Book of Common-Prayer, or forcing a clergyman to use any other form, forfeits a hundred marks; on a repetition of the offence, he forfeits four hundred marks; on a third offence forfeits his goods and chattels, and suffers imprisonment for life. A person absent from the service of

the church without reasonable excuse, forfeits twelve pence. By the Act of uniformity, 14 Car. II. every minister of the church is bound to declare, on his appointment, his assent and consent to the Book of Common-Prayer, on pain of deprivation. He is also (if resident) to perform certain duties, under a penalty of five pounds. No one, except he be episcopally ordained, can hold a benefice; nor can any person not ordained a priest, celebrate the eucharist, under the penalty of one hundred pounds. Heads of colleges are to subscribe the Articles and Book of Common-Prayer, on pain of deprivation. Persons preaching without proper faculties are to suffer three months' imprisonment. By the act 13th Elizabeth, any minister of the church teaching doctrines contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, is deprived of his preferments. These are a few of the principal laws by which the state protects the authority and unity of the church: the number might easily be enlarged.

In accordance with the principle involved in these laws, and in the Articles and Canons of the church of England, I maintain firmly that the state has a right, when necessary, to oblige the members of the church, by temporal penalties, to submit to her ordinances, and neither establish a different worship, nor teach different doctrines from hers. It has a right to prevent persons from separating from her communion, and from troubling the faithful, sowing dissension in the community, and misleading the ignorant and weak-minded brethren. It is not that the prince has a right to *dictate his own opinions* to the people, nor that he is specially bound by his office to *save souls*: but because he is bound to believe that God is the governor of this world, that religion propitiates His favour, that He has revealed a religion and established a church in which He wills that men should seek Him;[a] because it is certain that God

[a] [The next question in order is, whether God wills that *the state* should *bring* men to that church, or *keep* them in it. It would be difficult to show that scripture or catholic consent (*i. e.* from the beginning) furnish an affirmative answer. Without it, the chain of argument is broken.]

has not left His church without signs which distinguish it clearly from all false religions; and, in fine, because the church in the supposed case is manifestly a branch of that true and divine church: it is for these reasons that the Christian prince has a right to exercise his temporal power for the welfare of the nation,[b] by protecting the church from "the gathering together of the froward, and the insurrection of evil-doers."

But when temporal penalties are applied by the Christian prince in preventing rebellion against the church, it should ever be remembered, that the object is not vengeance or cruelty, but the welfare of the church and nation. And therefore, if experience show that penalties have in vain been employed to secure obedience: if a schism be *formed and established:* if it be obviously in vain to expect any good results from measures of compulsion: Christian charity and submission to the divine will, as well as sound policy, would enjoin the toleration of incurable errors. Therefore, the state of England acted well in relieving papists and other sectaries from the operation of laws which could no longer be useful with respect to them. But though sects may be tolerated by a Christian state, they ought never to receive from it favour, encouragement, or the means of injuring the true church established.

Locke's theory of Toleration, which has been adopted by Warburton and others, is built on three fundamental errors, which pervade the entire of it. First, that the sole concern of the civil magistrate is with civil affairs; and that he has nothing whatever to do with religion; secondly, that the true religion and church are not clearly distinguishable from heresies and schisms: and thirdly, that the only end which the civil magistrate can have in enforcing the doctrines and discipline

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[b] [*Will* that welfare be promoted by "protection" consisting in the application of "temporal penalties" to "prevent rebellion?" History affords a clear and full negative reply. The advocate of temporal coercion in religious matters may be safely challenged to produce a single instance of favourable result from its employment.]

of the church, is the *salvation* of those who are disobedient to them. From these principles Locke deduces conclusions subversive of the regal supremacy, and condemnatory of the existing laws in favour of the orthodox religion. I shall briefly notice some of his principal assertions and arguments in the objections.

OBJECTIONS.

I. He who follows Christ, embraces his doctrine, and wears his yoke, though he may separate from the public assemblies and ceremonies of his country, is not to be accounted a heretic and punished.

Answer. Separation from the church of Christ is *inexcusable*,[c] nor is it possible that he who does so can follow Christ.

II. If any one compels others by temporal force to profess certain doctrines, or attend a certain worship, he cannot intend to compose a truly Christian church by such means.

Answer. No magistrate could intend to compose a church by such means, but he may render those who rebel against the church comparatively innoxious, and even bring them ultimately into the right way.

III. Our Lord and his apostles did not use carnal weapons, though they might easily have had them if they desired.

Answer. The ministers of the church are never to employ such weapons, but the Christian magistrate is given the power of the civil sword.[d]

IV. The whole duty of the civil magistrate relates to civil matters, such as life, liberty, health, and property: It does not relate to the *salvation of souls.* Therefore he has no right to interfere in matters of religion.

Answer. It is the duty of the magistrate to consult for the general welfare, by promoting virtue and religion, and thus

[c] See Part I. chapter iv. sect. 2.

[d] [It must be shown that "the civil sword" was given for use *in church matters*, before this can be admitted as an answer to the objection.]

seeking the blessing of God on the nation.[e] I admit that his office is not to take care of souls: this is entrusted to the ministers of Jesus Christ.

V. The magistrate cannot have the care of souls, because he cannot compel men to *believe*. He cannot influence their view and persuasion.

Answer. He may, however, prevent unbelievers and heretics from openly assailing religion, and subverting the faith of many. St. Paul says, "There are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, whose *mouths must be stopped*;[f] who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake."[g] If the Christian magistrate silences such brawlers, is he to be blamed?

VI. There is but one truth, one way to heaven: there would be no hope that more persons should be led into it, if they were under the necessity to embrace the religion of their rulers, whatever it may be. Salvation in this case would depend on the place of nativity.

Answer. There is but one truth and one church, which God has distinguished from falsehood and error by manifest signs. The magistrate's right only extends to the defence and propagation of this true religion: the subject's duty of obedience is also limited to it.

VII. The church is a purely voluntary society, for no man is by nature a member of the church. He joins the society he

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[e] [Again the questions must be put, *whether* "virtue and religion" *will* be promoted by the interference of the civil magistrate in spiritual affairs? and whether God *has authorized* His "blessing on the nation" to be "sought" in that way?]

[f] [But *how?* The circumstances in which St. Paul wrote, furnish the most decisive proof that *civil coercion* could not have been in the mind of the sacred writer.—By this mode of argument the civil magistrate may be shown to be "not to be blamed" for using *any* branch of authority committed to the church, to any extent.]

[g] Tit. i. 11.

judges most acceptable to God, and if he finds any thing wrong in it, he ought to be at liberty to leave it.

Answer. No man can forsake the church without committing a grievous sin.[h] The civil magistrate may reasonably restrain such men by temporal penalties, in order to prevent them from disturbing the weak brethren, and troubling the church.[i]

VIII. From the *voluntary* nature of the church it follows that its laws must be made by itself alone.

Answer. Are all voluntary societies exempted from the authority of the state, and unprotected by the law? It is certain that many voluntary associations for various objects are both protected and regulated by the state.[k]

IX. No sect has a right to assume dominion over another: nor is it to be said that the orthodox has authority over the heretical; because each asserts itself to be orthodox, and there is no earthly judge to decide on their claims.

Answer. The church never claims dominion over those "that are without," but she has authority over her own children when they rebel.[l] God has himself distinguished his true religion and church sufficiently from all heresies. To assert the contrary would be to deny in fact that God designs his church to be the way of salvation, and to dispute whether there be any true church.

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[h] [Admitted: and for that GOD will judge him: but where has He constituted the civil power His minister for that purpose?]

[i] [Will those ends be answered? witness the rise and growth of schism in England, to go no further.]

[k] [So far as those objects either (1.) derive from the protection or aid of the state; or (2.) bear on the civil interests of the community. Just *so far* may the church be protected and regulated.]

[l] [To wit, spiritually, to limit or withdraw their privileges, or totally to cut them off, if pertinacious. The objection relates to temporal authority: this answer can have reference only to spiritual. If otherwise, it asserts the very principle of the Inquisition, in its full extent—the right of the church to command the aid of the civil sword in the subjugation of *her children*.]

X. The points in discussion between the church and those who separate, are frequently matters of small importance, concerning rites, habits, &c. Why should men be blamed for omitting such trifling matters?

Answer. Because they reject them on the principle that all human rites in religious service are *sinful:* and thus condemn the church universal in all ages, and "spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they may bring us into *bondage.*" Therefore we are bound, in defence of the rights and liberties of the church, not "to give place by subjection" to such men, "no not for an hour."[m]

XI. Since churches are free societies, and since what is practised in them is only justifiable in so far as it is believed by those who practise it to be acceptable to God, the magistrate has no right to enforce any rites or ceremonies in the worship of God. Therefore the Acts of Uniformity are unjust.

Answer. The church only adopts such rites and ceremonies as she judges pleasing to God, or lawful: the civil magistrate enforces them, in order to confirm her resolutions and to support her authority.[n]

XII. Speculative articles of faith ought not to be imposed on any church by law; because it is not in man's power to believe at pleasure, and a mere external profession cannot put men in the way of salvation. Therefore the act enjoining subscription to the Articles is unjust.

Answer. It may be very useful to the church that evil men shall not be permitted to teach errors, especially within her

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[m] [But to cut them off from church communion. What has that to do with the civil power? No temporal coercion is needed. Surely, it will not be pretended that any thing of the kind was contemplated by St. Paul.]

[n] [This he may do with regard to her members, *so long as* they continue her members: and if he have endowed her, he would seem to have a perfect right to do it by the penalty of a loss of right to share in such endowment. But the objection contemplates *compulsory membership;* and the answer does not meet it.]

communion, which (if allowed) would often involve her in great difficulties and dangers. The repression of such men is not so much for *their* benefit, as for that of the community.

NOTE.

[It can hardly have escaped observation that in this whole part the author has departed from the point of view taken in the remainder of the work. His subject is *the church*. Elsewhere he considers the relations, responsibilities, and privileges *of the church*, as such. But here he has discussed the relations of *the state* to the church, and his subject is, properly, no longer the latter, but the former. What *the state* may do, and ought to do, and why, are the topics of consideration. One or two heads of the first and fourth chapters, and the historical view, in the fifth, of what the church has held concerning the *duty of the state* towards her, scarcely form an exception, as in each instance there is a return to the contemplation of the position of the state as the main object of attention.

This remarkable change of method the editor is disposed to attribute to the author's sense of the difficulty of defending the connexion of church and state on other grounds. Had he chosen to examine that connexion in its bearing on the commission, duties, and responsibilities of the church rather than of the state, the result would have been different, because there would have been a different standard of appeal. The reader will have perceived that the author argues out his conclusions from very general notions, on equally general statements of the Scriptures, relative to the ends of civil government and consequent duties of the civil power. From such generalities it is comparatively easy to deduce a specious theory, into which so much of the constitution and practice of the church shall be admitted, and so much only, as tends to give consistency and plausibility. I do not say that the author intended so to do, rather than enter on an honest and frank inquiry whether the Divine Founder of the Church so constituted her as to evince His design that she should be married to the State, and has so dealt with her during her connexion as to testify His approbation. No doubt Mr. Palmer's mode of treating his subject was chosen in the conscientious conviction that it was the best. The Editor can only lament that it was preferred to the direct appeal to Scripture as interpreted by *universal* consent; on a point which he believes that authority alone competent to decide.]

A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART VI.

ON THE SACRED MINISTRY.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART VI.

ON THE SACRED MINISTRY.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE EPISCOPATE.

I HAVE elsewhere proved[a] that the office of the sacred ministry is essential to the Christian church, and have briefly noticed some of its characteristics: but I am now to examine more particularly the constitution of this priesthood, its various degrees, the qualifications of those who are to receive and to transmit it, the rites by which it is conferred; and to apply these considerations to existing circumstances.

The British churches, together with the infinite majority of professing Christians throughout the world, acknowledge three ranks or degrees of the sacred ministry as of apostolical antiquity. The preface to the Ordinal says: "from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church; bishops, priests, and deacons;" and a distinct form of ordination

[a] See Part I. chap. viii.

with imposition of hands and prayer is there appointed for those presbyters who "are called to the work and ministry of a bishop."

In this chapter I propose to prove, that episcopacy, or the superiority of one pastor in each church, vested with peculiar powers, is of apostolical institution; and that all churches are bound to adhere to this rule.

This is sufficient to establish the general discipline of the church, and it is not necessary to contend, that the difference between the first and second degrees of the sacred ministry, resembles that between the second and third; or that there are three orders of the ministry *equally* distinguished from each other. If we divide the sacred ministry according to its *degrees* instituted by God, and understand the word "order" in the sense of "degree," we may very truly say that there are *three orders* of the Christian ministry; but if we distribute it according to its *nature*, we may say that there are only *two orders*, viz. bishops or presbyters, and deacons; for pastors of the first and second degree exercise a ministry of the same nature.[b]

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[b] [It is to be regretted that the learned author has consented to involve himself and his reader in scholastic subtleties on this subject, for the sake of appearing (for it is only in appearance that he is successful) to reconcile variant theological opinions that have found currency in the church at divers times, without detriment to the faith, or material derogation from its discipline.

In one point of view, it is certainly true that the difference between the episcopate and the presbyterate is of another kind from that between the presbyterate and the diaconate. The great ends of the ministry, in the administration of the word and sacraments, are subserved as effectually by the presbyter in his sphere as by the bishop in his; they are not, and cannot be by the deacon in any sphere, because he has received no commission to administer the eucharist, absolution, or benediction. With *respect to these offices*, it is true, that the difference between the presbyter and deacon is of order; that between the presbyter and bishop, not of order, but of jurisdiction. But then this last is true, with regard to the not less important offices of preaching and baptizing, of the presbyter and deacon; and by parity of reason, if the presbyterate and episcopate are one order, because wherever

Both are ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God: both are invested with the care of souls and the government of the church, in their respective degrees: both are sent to teach and preach the Gospel of Christ; to make disciples by baptism; to celebrate the eucharist; to bless the congregation; to offer prayers and spiritual sacrifices in the presence of all the people; even to seal with the Holy Spirit in confirmation.[c] In the power of ordination alone, do the ministers of the first degree differ absolutely from those of the second:[d] and therefore they may be considered, in general, as of the same order.

On the other hand, deacons are plainly of a different order; their ministry being, according to the Scripture, the practice of the church generally, and the sentiment of the church of Eng-

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the presbyter has a right to administer the eucharist, absolve, and bless, his administration is as valid as the bishop's; then the presbyterate and diaconate are one order, because wherever the deacon has a right given him to baptize and preach, his administration of those ordinances is as valid as the priest's. Nay, of both priest and deacon it is true, and equally true, that their administrations, even where they have not the right (i. e. have not jurisdiction), are still valid, though irregular,—the latter's to the extent of baptizing and preaching—the former's to that of administering the eucharist, absolution and benediction. But is it true of either, that their administration of the ordaining power, or the government of the church, as chief ruler and visiter, would be even valid? The Catholic Church has never admitted that it would: and here is a distinction as broad between the presbyterate and episcopate, as that between the presbyterate and diaconate. Why it should not be called a distinction of *order* as well as that, others must show reason, if they can.]

[c] Presbyters administer confirmation ordinarily in the eastern churches with chrism hallowed by the bishop. Habert. Pontificale Græc. p. 709. In the west they have no such power, and it is even disputed by many theologians whether the church could commission them to exercise it.

[d] [Below, No. VII. p. 364, the author says more correctly, that the episcopate had "a superior power *especially* in the point of ordination;" and No. VIII. p. 366, he states that "the whole history of the church represents" it as having "jurisdiction and authority beyond" that of the presbyterate in se.]

land in particular, limited to duties of a temporal, or at least a very inferior character. They are only *permitted* to baptize and preach: the church has before now given the same permission to laymen in case of necessity: they are not given the care of souls, or any of the other higher offices of the ministry.

If it were adviseable to enter on this question at any extent, it might be easily shown, that there is very considerable authority from tradition, in favour of the identity in order of the first and second degrees of the ministry. I mean, that the title of bishop or presbyter might be applied to both, though the bishops or presbyters of the first class are distinguished from those of the second, *jure divino*.[e] We find that Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Firmilian, and others, sometimes only speak of two orders in the church, *i. e.* bishops or presbyters and deacons; or else mention the pastors of the first order under the title of presbyters.[f] Be-

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[e] [Surely this is a pitiful distinction! There are, *jure divino*, two classes of officers in the church. But these two classes are interchangeably designated by one title. Therefore they constitute *one order!* But their "identity in order" still leaves them in two degrees; and those degrees are distinguished, *jure divino!* What matters it whether the presbyterate and episcopate are known as two *orders* or two *degrees?* And if they are jure divino distinct, what matters it whether they were at first known by only *one title* or by *two?*

A "peculiar power" constitutes the presbyterate into *an order*, as distinct from the diaconate. Another "peculiar power" distinguishes the episcopate from the presbyterate, by the author's own concession, below, Answer to Obj. II. p. 370.]

[f] [The adduction of the writers cited, in proof of the identity of the presbyterate and episcopate, has been too often triumphantly refuted and exposed, to leave any need of swelling this volume with notes to that effect. Mr. Palmer, for reasons best known to himself, has chosen to adopt what even Burnet not unaptly calls "the dregs of popery," in the scholastic notion of identity of order; but is too good a scholar not to know the worthlessness of the appeals to antiquity in its favour: and, accordingly, speaks of "*very considerable* authority from tradition," for an opinion of which he does not venture to affirm the truth.]

sides this, many writers employ language and arguments, which go directly to prove the identity of the first and second degrees of the ministry in *order*. Amongst these may probably be mentioned, Jerome, Hilary the deacon, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, Sedulius, Primasius, Isidore Hispalensis, Bede, Alcuin, the synod of Aix in 819, Amalarius, and others, quoted by Morinus.[g] To these may be added the great body of the schoolmen, Hugo S. Victor, Peter Lombard, Alexander Alensis, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Abulensis, Turrecremata, Cajetan, &c. Many teach that the episcopate is only an extension of the sacerdotal order, such as Durandus, Paludanus, Dominic Soto, &c.[h] In fine, the synod of Trent seems rather to favour this view, since it does not reckon the episcopate as a distinct *order* from the priesthood,[i] though it denounces anathema against those who deny that there is a hierarchy, divinely instituted, consisting of bishops, presbyters, and ministers.[k] Such, too, seems to have been the sentiment of the bishops of England in "the Institution of a Christian Man," 1536,[l] and "the Necessary Doctrine," 1543,[m] where only the two orders of bishops or priests, and deacons, are reckoned of divine institution. It seems, too, that many of the Reformers in the sixteenth century entertained this opinion, and several theologians of our churches in that and the following ages, have been cited in favour of it.

But we should greatly mistake, if we supposed that these writers, because they reckoned only two orders in the sacred ministry, regarded the chief presbyters, to whom the church has limited the title of bishops, as invested with no greater preroga-

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[g] Morinus de Sacris Ordin. par. iii. exerc. iii. c. 2. Vasquez, in iii. part. Disput. 240, c. 2.

[h] Morinus, par. iii. exerc. iii. c. 1. states all the various opinions of the scholastic doctors and Roman theologians on this matter. See also Hallier, De Ordin. p. 372, &c. 413.

[i] Synod. Trident. Sess. xxiii. cap. 2.

[k] Ibid. Can. 6, 7.

[l] Formularies of Faith, p. 105, Oxford ed.

[m] Ibid. p. 281.

tives than other presbyters *jure divino*. On the contrary, they held that bishops were established in all churches by the Apostles, with a superiority of jurisdiction to the other presbyters; and that the power of ordination was so vested in them, that mere presbyterian ordinations were null and void. This, I say, has always been the general doctrine of the church, though there were some few individuals in the middle ages, who thought that the Roman pontiff might commission simple presbyters to ordain.[n]

Having premised these general observations, I now proceed to show that episcopacy, or the superiority of one presbyter in each church, was established by the Apostles; and that it is obligatory on the whole church.[o]

I. The authentic records of history inform us, that from the present day, even to the time of the apostles, every church has been governed by a succession of bishops or chief presbyters. Every one admits that episcopacy was universal in the fourth and third centuries. Let us now trace it back from the end of the second century to the apostles. I maintain, that as far as it is possible to discover the state of the church in those times,

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[n] Morinus de Ordin. pars iv. exerc. iii. c. 3.

[o] Amongst the writers on this subject may be mentioned, Hooker, Eccl. Polity, book vii.; Bilson, Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, ch. xii. and xiii.; Field, Of the Church, b. v.; Hall on Episcopacy; Taylor on Episcopacy; Chillingworth, Apost. Institut. of Episcopacy; Leslie, on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments; Potter on Church Government; Bingham, Orig. Eccl. b. ii.; [Brokesby on the Government of the Primitive Church;] Skinner on Episcopacy; Rose on the Commission and consequent duties of the Clergy; the writings of Bowden, Cooke, and Onderdonk, in "Works on Episcopacy," published at the Episcopal press, New-York, 1831; [Hobart's Apology for Apostolic Order and its Advocates]; Sinclair's Dissertations on the Church of England (on Episcopacy). See also Tournely, Tract. de Ordin.; Thomassinus, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. P. I. lib. i. c. 51—53; Petavius de Hierarch. Eccl.; Habertus, Pontificale Græc.; Morinus de Ordin.; Hallier, De Sacr. Elect. et Ordin.; Vasquez, Comment. in iii. part. S. Thomæ.

episcopacy was as universally received as the sacraments of Christianity. Every church seems to have been subject to one chief pastor, and there is no evidence to the contrary.

About A.D. 196, Victor was "president of the Roman church,"[p] Irenæus reminded him of "the presbyters who had presided over that church"[q] before him, Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, obviously regarding each of them, like Victor, as the chief pastor of the Roman church. We know that about A.D 250, the bishop of Rome presided over forty-four presbyters,[r] and no doubt the number was large even at the end of the second century. About the same time as Victor, "Demetrius undertakes the ministry of the church of Alexandria. . . . Serapio, the eighth bishop of the church of Antioch from the apostles, was still known. . . . Theophilus presided over the church of Cæsarea. . . . Narcissus in like manner . . . had the ministry of the church in Jerusalem. Bachyllus, at the same time, was bishop of that at Corinth in Greece, and Polycrates of the church of Ephesus."[s] Eusebius mentions that many synods of "bishops," by whom he doubtless means such presidents of churches as he has spoken of, were held in Palestine, Rome, Pontus, Gaul, Osroëne, Corinth, Asia,[t] &c. At the same time, we read of "Cassius, bishop of the church of Tyre, and Clarus of that at Ptolemais."[u] Polycrates, in his epistle to Victor, mentions many Asiatic bishops then deceased.[v]

Before this time, about 177, "Irenæus undertakes the episcopate of the church of Lyons, which Pothinus had governed;" the latter having died in prison at the age of ninety.[w] Irenæus furnishes a catalogue of the bishops of Rome, in which he says, that "the *apostles delivered the ministry of the episcopate* to Linus. . . . . Anencletus succeeds him; and after him, in the

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[p] Ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πρεσττὼς Βίκταρ.—Euseb. v. 24.

[q] Καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς νῦν ἀφυγῆ.—Ibid.

[r] Euseb. vi. 43. [s] Ibid. v. 22. [t] Ibid. 23, 24.

[u] Ibid. 25. [v] Ibid. 24. [w] Euseb. v. 5.

third place from the apostles, Clemens obtains the episcopate. . . . . Evarestus succeeds this Clemens, and is followed by Alexander,"[x] &c. He also says that Polycarp, with whom he was acquainted, was made bishop of Smyrna *by the apostles*.[y]

About the year 168, when the heresy of Montanus appeared, we read that it was opposed by Zoticus, bishop of Comana, Julian of Apamæa,[z] Serapion of Antioch, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, and "many other bishops."[a] Before this, Melito was "bishop of Sardis, and Apollinarius of Hierapolis,"[b] Theophilus of Antioch, and Philip of Gortyna.[c] Still earlier, Dionysius was "entrusted with the episcopal throne of the church of Corinth. . . . He mentions Quadratus, who, after the martyrdom of Publius, was appointed bishop of the Athenians. . . . He relates also how *Dionysius the Areopagite . . . first undertook the bishopric of the church of Athens*. . . . Writing to the church of Gortyna, . . . he commends Philip their bishop. . . . Writing to the church of Amastris, and the others in Pontus . . . mentioning their bishop Palmas by name, he admonishes them," &c. There is also an epistle to the Gnossians, in which he exhorts "Pinytus, bishop of that church;" and another to the Romans, "addressed to Soter, bishop at that time."[d]

About 158, Hegesippus came from the East to Rome, and his history states that he had "conversed with many bishops on his journey." He says, "the church of the Corinthians remained in the sound faith even to the episcopate of Primus in Corinth: with whom I conversed when journeying to Rome, and spent many days at Corinth."[e] He also mentions that in the time of Domitian, about A.D. 93, certain relatives of our Lord, according to the flesh, having been interrogated by the

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[x] Ibid. 6.

[y] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος.—Euseb. lib. iv. c. 14.

[z] Euseb. lib. v. c. 16. [a] Ibid. 19. [b] Lib. iv. c. 26.

[c] Ibid. 24, 25. [d] Ibid. 23. [e] Euseb. l. iv. c. 22.

emperor and dismissed, afterwards "*ruled churches*, as being at once martyrs and relatives of the Lord."[f] He states that after the martyrdom of James the Just, "*Simon, the son of Cleopas, is appointed bishop*, whom, being a relation of the Lord, all preferred as the second" bishop.[g] About the same time as Dionysius [*lege* Hegesippus], Polycarp, who had been appointed bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, came to Rome to confer with Anicetus, bishop or presbyter of that city, as Irenæus informs us.[h] Justin Martyr, about A.D. 148, describing the public worship of the Christians, observes, that the commentaries of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as the time permits; that when the reader has ceased, "the president in a discourse exhorts" the people; and that when the bread and wine are offered, "the president offers prayers and thanksgivings."[i]

With Polycarp, who had been made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, were in part contemporary, Papias, "bishop of the church of Hierapolis,"[k] who conversed with the apostles; and Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 107, and had been constituted bishop of Antioch *by the apostles*.[l] Ignatius, as we learn from Eusebius, addressed epistles to several churches, and mentioned in them "Onesimus, pastor of the church of Ephesus," "Damas, bishop" of Magnesia, Polybius, "ruler of the church of Tralles," and Polycarp, "prelate of Smyrna."[m] This was very soon after the death of St. John, who lived at Ephesus till the end of the first century.

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[f] Lib. iii. c. 20. See Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, t. i. p. 198.

[g] Lib. iv. 22. [h] Lib. iv. 14. v. 24.

[i] Ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται . . . ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει.—Just. Mart. Apol. 1. p. 97, 98. ed. Thirlby.

[k] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 36. Irenæus adv. Hæres. v. 33.

[l] Euseb. ut supra. Origen. in Luc. Hom. vi. Chrysost. Orat. xlii. Theodoret. Dial. 1. Const. Apost. vii. 46. Burton's Lectures on Eccl. Hist. i. 357. Pearsoni Annot. in Ignat. Ed. Smith, p. 1, &c.

[m] Ibid.

All the great churches preserved catalogues of their bishops from the time of the apostles, as we may see in Eusebius. Rome traced her succession from Linus, Cletus, and Clement, who were appointed bishops by the Apostles. Antioch traced hers from Evodius and Ignatius, who were also successively made bishops by the apostles. Jerusalem in like manner commenced her catalogue with James the Lord's brother: Alexandria traced her origin to Mark the Evangelist, who constituted Anianus his successor. Athens, as we have seen, was governed by Dionysius the Areopagite in the time of the apostles, Smyrna by Polycarp, Ephesus by Onesimus, probably the friend of St. Paul.

As far, therefore, as we are informed of the state of the church from the time of the apostles, it appears evident, that in every church there was one presiding presbyter or bishop. It is not only in the greater churches that this discipline is found: nor is it observed merely in some parts of the world. The very smallest and most insignificant churches were governed by bishops, and every country where Christianity then prevailed, furnishes examples of episcopacy. From Osroëne in the east to Gaul in the west, from Pontus in the north to Egypt in the south, all churches whose constitution we can trace, had been subject to bishops from the latter part of the second century up to the time of the apostles. It was the persuasion of Christians in the second century that the apostles had instituted episcopacy. The history of Christianity, in short, is the history of episcopacy: they are found united from the very first; nor is there less evidence for the prevalence of this form of government in the primitive church, than there is of the reception of the scriptures, or the use of the sacraments in those times. In fine, the adversaries of episcopacy have never been able to produce a single instance of a church subject to a presbytery *without* a chief pastor, (except during temporary vacancies of sees,) during the first fifteen centuries after Christ.

II. The existence of episcopacy is mentioned in scripture.

The Christian ministry was only gradually developed by the apostles as the church required it. We read first of the apostles instituting deacons at Jerusalem, in consequence of a dispute between the Greeks and Jews. The original institution of Presbyters is nowhere recorded: but there were presbyters at Jerusalem about A. D. 43, and Barnabas and Paul afterwards ordained them in all the churches of those districts where they were labouring. In like manner we do not find the origin of episcopacy exactly recorded: though there are proofs enough that it existed in the time of the apostles.

It is probable that the apostles at first appointed several presbyters of equal authority in each church, reserving the chief authority themselves, and thus acting as the first bishops. But as the apostles drew near the close of their labours, we find evidences of their deputing this power to others, and constituting them in their own place to preside over the churches. This is exemplified in the case of Titus, whom the apostle Paul left in Crete to "set things in order, and ordain presbyters in every city." It is still more strongly exemplified in his fixing Timothy at Ephesus, probably about A. D. 63 or 64, in the very latter part of this apostle's life, with the powers given to him over presbyters. These cases, I say, furnish a strong evidence of the provision which the apostles were making for the government of the church after their own departure. And accordingly, when we next see the state of the church in scripture, about thirty years after, we find that in *every* church mentioned, there was one chief pastor, entitled in the Book of Revelation its "Angel." Connecting this with the testimony of ecclesiastical history already adduced, to the fact that bishops were positively instituted by the apostles; there can be no reasonable doubt that episcopacy was really established by them.

How is it possible indeed to suppose that such a pre-eminence could have prevailed universally in the second century without any objection, if it had not been instituted by the apostles? We know the disturbances which arose in the church on the time of

keeping Easter: how improbable is it, that episcopacy could have been introduced into all churches by merely human authority, without exciting opposition in some quarter!

III. The weight of facts has indeed obliged many opponents of episcopacy to acknowledgments fatal to their cause. According to Blondel, the senior presbyter had a precedence over the other presbyters even in the apostles' time, "the *apostles themselves, if not openly favouring, at least not opposing it*;"[o] he admits in fact that this precedence existed "*from the beginning*."[p] He says that from these presbyters, as "*heads of the whole clergy*, the churches were reckoned, and the successions were deduced,"[q] and that such a theory alone enables us to avoid being "overwhelmed with unexpected difficulties," in contemplating the records of the ancient churches of Rome, Antioch,[r] &c. Salmasius, another presbyterian, allows that the difference between bishops and presbyters is most ancient; only that it did not exist in the time of the apostles,[s] but was introduced after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul.[t] Campbell, an opponent of episcopacy, says, "that the distinction" between bishop and presbyter "obtained *generally before the middle of the second century*,"[u] that is, within fifty years of the apostolic age. He even regards it as probable, not only that the "angels of the churches" in the Apocalypse were presbyters, who had a sort of presidency over the rest, after the example of the Jewish sanhedrim; but even that this distinction had prevailed *from the beginning*, though too inconsiderable to be noticed in history.[v] Accordingly, the puritans, who professed to do nothing without the authority of scripture, acknowledged that there might be a

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[o] Blondellus, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 5.

[p] Ibid. p. 38. [q] Ibid. p. 6. [r] Ibid. p. 7.

[s] Walo Messalinus, p. 7. [t] Ibid. p. 181.

[u] Campbell's Lectures on Eccl. Hist. lect. vi.

[v] Ibid. lect. v. The dissenters in their Eccl. Library (Essay on Episcopacy, 196. 198.) adopt these views of Campbell's.

president or moderator in the presbytery, though they objected to investing any one with it permanently.[w]

IV. It was the universal tradition that the episcopate is of apostolical and divine institution. Ignatius says, "It becometh you not to take advantage of the bishop's age, but *according to the power of God the Father* to pay him all reverence, as I know your holy presbyters do, not considering his age, which to appearance is youthful . . . . It will therefore befit you with all sincerity to obey your bishop, in honour of *Him whose pleasure it is that ye should do so.*"[x] Clement of Alexandria: "There are other precepts (in *scripture*) without number, which concern men in particular capacities; some of which relate to presbyters, others to bishops, and others to deacons."[y] Origen: "If Jesus Christ the Son of God is subject to Joseph and Mary, shall not I be subject to the bishop who is OF GOD ordained to be my father? Shall not I be subject to the presbyter who by the Lord's vouchsafement is set over me?"[z] Cyprian: "The ordination of bishops, and constitution of the church so descends through successions and ages, that the church should be founded on the bishops, and every ecclesiastical act be regulated by the same governors. Since this therefore *is provided in the divine law*, I marvel that some have written to me with audacious temerity, in such a manner," &c.[a] Athanasius: "If the government of the churches do

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[w] Hooker's Works, by Keble, vol. iii. p. 181; Field, Of the Church, b. v. c. 27.

[x] Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. c. iii.

[y] Μυρίοι δὲ ὅσοι ὑπὸ θαῦμα, εἰς πρόσωπα ἐκλεκτὰ διατείνουσαι, ἐγγράφονται ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἁγίαις· αἱ μὲν πρεσβυτέρους· αἱ δὲ ἐπισκόπους· αἱ δὲ διακόνους.—Clem. Alex. Pædagog. l. iii. c. 12. t. i. Oper. p. 309. ed. Potter.

[z] "Si Jesus Filius Dei subjicitur Joseph et Mariæ, ego non subjiciar episcopo, qui mihi a Deo ordinatus est Pater? Non subjiciar presbytero, qui mihi Domini dignatione præpositus est?"—Orig. Hom. xx. in Luc. Op. iii. 956.

[a] "Inde per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis

not please you, and you think the office of a bishop has no reward, thereby making yourself a despiser of OUR SAVIOUR WHO DID INSTITUTE IT; I beseech you, surmise not any such things as these, nor entertain any who advise such things, for that were not worthy of Dracontius: for what things *the Lord did institute by his apostles*, those things remain both honourable and sure"[b] Hilary the deacon: "The bishop is the vicegerent of Christ, and represents his person."[c] "Because all things are from one God the Father, HE DECREED that each church should be governed by one bishop."[d] Jerome: "James, after the passion of our Lord, was immediately by the apostles ordained bishop of Jerusalem."[e] Chrysostom: "Paul saith in his epistle to Timothy, 'fulfil thy ministry,' being then a bishop; for that he was a bishop appears by Paul's writing thus unto him, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man.'"[f]

V. It was also the general doctrine of the church, that bishops were successors of the apostles, and therefore supreme in the church. Irenæus says, "We can enumerate those who were appointed by the apostles bishops in the churches, and their successors even to us, who have taught no such thing,

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actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse," &c.—Cypr. Epist. 27. al. 33.

[b] Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ διάταξις οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι, οὐδὲ νομίζεις τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτούργημα μίσθιον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ ταῦτα διαταξαμένου σωτῆρος πεποίηκας σαυτόν . . ἃ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τετύπωκε, ταῦτα καλὰ καὶ βέβαια μένει.—Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. t. i. p. 264.

[c] "Episcopus personam habet Christi. Quasi ergo ante judicem, sic ante episcopum, quia Vicarius Domini est propter reatus originem subjecta debet videri."—Hilar. in 1 Cor. xi. 10. inter Ambrosii Opera.

[d] "Et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit."—Comment. in 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[e] "Post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Ierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus."—Hier. Script. Eccl. Catalogus Oper. t. iv. pars ii. p. 102.

[f] Διὰ τοῦτο γράφων καὶ Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε· τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησόν, ἐπίσκοπῳ ὄντι· ὅτι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει.—Chrysost. Hom. i. in Phil. Oper. t. xi. p. 195.

neither have they known what is idly talked of by these (heretics.) For if the apostles had known any hidden mysteries, which they taught apart and secretly to the perfect, they would have delivered them to those especially, to whom they committed even the churches themselves. For they wished those to be very perfect and irreprehensible in all things, *whom they left as their successors, delivering to them their own place of government.*"[g] He then mentions the succession of bishops in the Roman church as an illustration of his meaning. Tertullian, speaking of heresies, says, "Let them declare the origin of their churches: let them unfold the catalogue of their bishops so descending by successions from the beginning, that the first bishop had some one of the apostles, or of the apostolic men who remained united with the apostles, as his ordainer and predecessor."[h] Firmilian says, the power of remitting sins was granted to the apostles, "and to those *bishops who succeeded them*, in a due and regular course of vicarious succession."[i] Cyprian, in writing to Cornelius of Rome, remarks, that the bishops are successors of the apostles.[k] Clarus, bishop of Muscula, in the synod of Carthage: "The will of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, in sending his apostles, and transmitting to them alone the power given to himself by the Father: *to whom we have succeeded*, governing the church of God with the same power."[l] Jerome: "The power of wealth, or the

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g "Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes."—Iren. cont. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

h Tertull. de Præscript. c. 32. See Vol. I. p. 172.

i "Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt."—Cypr. Epist. 75. Routh, Opuscula, t. i. p. 233.

k "Laborare debemus ut unitatem a Domino et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus."—Cypr. Epist. 42. al. 45.

l "Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus

lowliness of poverty, renders a bishop neither more nor less exalted; but all *are successors of the apostles*."[m] Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, also speaks of bishops as "occupying the chairs of the apostles."[n]

VI. It will be proved elsewhere,[o] that according to the universal doctrine and practice of the church, ordinations by presbyters without bishops are null; while ordinations by bishops without presbyters are valid and regular. Therefore, the bishops or chief presbyters are superior to others.

VII. We may now draw our conclusion in favour of episcopacy and its permanent obligation. Since then, it is morally certain, that from the end of the second century up to the time of the apostles, one chief presbyter presided in each church; since it was the belief in those times that this discipline was instituted by the apostles; since there are manifest traces of this institution in scripture itself; since the very opponents of episcopacy are compelled by the force of truth, to acknowledge its early universality and its apostolical origin; since it was the tradition of the catholic church that it was established by the apostles according to the divine command; and that it did not consist in a mere nominal precedence, but in a superior power, especially in the point of ordination; we may reason-

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nos successimus eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes."—Concil. Carthag. apud Cypr. See Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, t. iii. p. 105.

[m] "Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt."—Hier. Epist. ad Evang. Oper. t. iv. pars ii. p. 802.

[n] "Episcopi apostoli nominantur, sicut de Epaphrodito Paulus edisserit: Fratrem et commilitonem, inquit, meum; vestrum autem apostolum. Si ergo lavacri et chrismatis potestas, majorum et longe charismatum, ad episcopos inde descendit; et ligandi quoque jus adfuit atque solvendi. Quod etsi nos, ob nostra peccata, temerarie vindicamus: Deus tamen illud ut sanctis et apostolorum cathedras tenentibus non negabit, qui episcopis etiam unici sui nomen indulsit."—Pacian. Epist. I ad Sympronian. Bibl. Patr. t. iv.

[o] Chapter IV.

ably conclude, that episcopacy was universally established by the apostles, either personally or by injunction. And this being so, it is always binding on the church; because a discipline which appears to have been universally taught or established by the inspired apostles of Jesus Christ, without any intimation that it was merely temporary or non-essential, cannot, without extreme rashness, be rejected. If episcopacy, though universally established by the apostles, were not obligatory, presbyters and deacons might be dispensed with; communion in both kinds would not be obligatory: preaching and reading of scripture in the church might be relinquished. In fact, it would be hard to say to what extent such a principle might carry us. The permanent obligation of episcopacy was not only testified by the catholic church, which in all ages continued the succession of bishops; but even the ancient sects and heresies followed her example. The Gnostics, Novatians, Donatists, Meletians, Arians, Eunomians, Apollinarians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Albigenses, and many other heretics, all recognized the episcopate in their societies.

At the period of the Reformation the episcopate was not only venerated by all the ancient churches and sects of the East, and by the Roman and the British churches; but it was preserved in the Lutheran Swedish church, and highly approved of by the Lutherans generally, who are not to be blamed for not instituting bishops among themselves at first, because they were appellants to a general council, and looked forward to reunion with the bishops of Germany. Calvin himself acted as a bishop at Geneva; and both he and some of his principal disciples approved of episcopacy.[p]

VIII. It is alleged by the opponents of episcopacy that, even

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[p] Calvin. Inst. lib. iv. c. 5. approves the whole ancient hierarchy. For further proofs of the sentiments of reformers see Bancroft's Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline; Durel on the Reformed Churches; Sinclair's Dissertations (on episcopacy.)

conceding that there was some distinction among the presbyters of the church, from very early times, still this did not amount to episcopacy, since it was a merely temporary pre-eminence, like that of the moderators in presbyterian synods. I reply that the *temporary* nature of the office is a matter of *pure conjecture:* it is not founded on any historical evidence whatever. We oppose to it the undoubted *fact*, that permanent episcopacy, like that of the church, prevailed everywhere as far back as we can trace it. Such a fact is sufficient to render all modern theories of a different apostolical institution utterly improbable, and to convict them of inexcusable temerity. The same observation will apply to the theory, that the primitive bishops had no jurisdiction or authority beyond other presbyters, but merely a precedence in dignity. The whole history of the church is opposed to this theory, for it represents the primitive bishops as the leaders of the church, and the principal actors in every thing that occurred. Indeed offices chiefly honorary, would have been inconsistent with the characters and views of Christians in those times.

It is further alleged, that at all events the primitive bishops were not much superior to their presbyters: that they never took any step of importance except with the consent of the presbytery, and even of the brethren: and therefore that the prelacy afterwards introduced into the universal church, was a corruption and an abomination, which was to be rooted out. I reply, that if bishops were gradually entrusted with more exclusive power by the church than they possessed at first, this was by the act of the church herself, which had a perfect right to make any regulations in discipline not contrary to the law of God. And besides this, the universal church having approved and continued this discipline from the fourth century at latest, till the Reformation, it cannot be sinful or contrary to the word of God; but these prelates must always have been *ministers of Jesus Christ*, since it is impossible from the divine promises, that the universal church should ever contradict the divine command, or be devoid of a true ministry.

IX. Therefore, whatever we may think of abstract opinions, concerning the best form of church government, there can be no doubt that those who separated themselves from the communion of the Christian church, under pretence that the presbyterian polity was of divine right, and that prelacy or episcopacy was unlawful or anti-christian,[q] and who covenanted together for its destruction, were schismatics, if not heretics. Certainly Aërius, who asserted a doctrine resembling this in the fourth century, has always been accounted a heretic in the catholic church. Epiphanius regarded his doctrine as "insane beyond measure." Nor had St. Augustine a more favourable opinion of it, since he says, "Si quid horum tota per orbem frequentat ecclesia . . . quin ita faciendum sit, disputare, insolentissimæ insaniæ est."

OBJECTIONS.

I. The terms bishop and presbyter are applied indifferently to the same persons in holy scripture. The "elders (presbyteri) of the church" at Ephesus had been "made overseers (episcopi) by the Holy Ghost."[r] St. Paul writes to "all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."[s] "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest . . . ordain *elders* in every city . . . for a *bishop* must be blameless,"[t] &c. St. Paul only directs Timothy to ordain "bishops" and "deacons."[u] Paul and Barnabas "ordained elders in every church."[v] In these passages the titles of bishop and presby-

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[q] See Bancroft's Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, p 123. where the language of the puritans is quoted to this effect. See also Stillingfleet on the Unreasonableness of Separation. The presbyterians during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, generally claimed a divine right for their form of government.

[r] Acts xx. 17. 28. [s] Phil. i. 1. [t] Tit. i. 5. 7.

[u] 1 Tim. ii. [v] Acts xiv. 23.

ter are given to the same persons; or two orders only are mentioned in the church.

Answer. There may have been one amongst the bishops or presbyters of Philippi[w] and Ephesus superior to the rest. Titus may have made the same distinction among the presbyters in Crete, or was probably himself the chief pastor of those churches. St. Paul does not discriminate the chief presbyters from the others in his epistle to Timothy, because their qualifications were the same. The elders ordained by Paul and Barnabas may have been of different degrees; but it is also probable that when they were ordained, and when St. Paul sent for the presbyters of Ephesus, and wrote to the bishops of Philippi, the presidency of one in each of those churches had not been yet instituted by the apostles, who reserved the supreme authority to themselves.[x]

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[w] [Epaphroditus is expressly designated by St. Paul, as "the apostle of the Philippians" and his own "fellow-workman and soldier;" Phil. iii. 25. He was absent from Philippi, on a visit to St. Paul, when the epistle was written; iii. 28. iv. 18: there *could*, therefore, only be members of the two inferior orders at Philippi, to be addressed.]

[x] [The answers to this objection are by no means satisfactory. The fallacy lies in the assumption that the indifferent application of the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" proves the mention of two orders only.

Suppose that the presbyters of Philippi and Ephesus are called bishops; if, at the same time, there were *under* them deacons, and *over* them, in each church, an apostle, does it follow, that mention is made only of two orders? Now, of the Philippians, we have seen, that St. Paul while he addresses their "bishops and deacons," makes mention of their "apostle" as then absent, on a visit to himself: of the Ephesians was not Paul the apostle when he delivered the charge recorded in Acts xx.? was there not at that time a superior in the ministry, exercising oversight previously correspondent with that subsequently called "episcopal," over the "bishops" of that church? and did not that superior, with the deacons, make up the three orders in that church?

In the cases of Titus and Timothy, too, there is no real difficulty. That they *were*, respectively, the overseers of the churches in Crete and Ephesus, is matter not of probability, but established fact. How, then, could

II. The early writers mention only two orders, or know nothing of any order superior to presbyters. Clement of Rome says the apostles ordained "bishops and deacons."[y] Polycarp enjoins the Philippians "to be subject to their presbyters and deacons."[z] Clement of Alexandria: "The presbyters are entrusted with the dignified ministry, the deacons with the subordinate."[a] Tertullian: "In our religious assemblies, certain

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there be more than two orders under them? That they were "apostles," and have that office ascribed to them in Scripture, is susceptible of clear proof. Here, then, again, *three*, not *two*, orders are mentioned; the apostles, the bishops or presbyters, and the deacons.

Paul and Barnabas, when they "ordained elders," (Acts xiv.) were performing jointly an apostolical, now called "episcopal," visitation, of a district to which they had been "sent out," (Acts xiii. 2. 4.) and of which they were the "apostles" (Acts xiv. 14.) for the time being—in modern phrase, of their "missionary diocese." The conjunction of two of the highest order in a joint charge, is the only circumstance different from subsequent practice. It was, doubtless, founded on our Saviour's precedent (Mark vi. 7. Luke x. 1.); was constantly practised in the earliest days of the church (Acts viii. 14; xi. 30; xv. 2. 22. 39, 40; xix. 22; 2 Cor. viii. 18. 23.); and seems to have prevailed only in the case of temporary or itinerant supervision—such as we now call "*missionary* episcopacy"—since in the case of Paul at the beginning of his ministry (Acts ix. 30), in that of Epaphroditus (Phil. ii.), and in those of Titus and Timothy, a single individual appears to have been sent to exercise stationary (or what we call "diocesan") episcopal functions. In all these instances, the distinction between "order" and "jurisdiction" is very clear; the latter, only, being in question.]

[y] [Are not "apostles," and "bishops," and "deacons," three orders? And did not the first of the three, in ordaining the other two, discharge precisely the function now ascribed to the first or highest of the three orders? Clement (Ep. ad Cor. c. 44) expressly recognizes the *succession* of *others* to the office of ordaining *after the apostles*.]

[z] [The solution is, that the church was vacant of a bishop when addressed by Polycarp: and no other supposition so satisfactorily accounts for the admonitory tone of the letter of so distant a bishop.]

[a] [It is obvious that Clement is here speaking of the administration of each church under its bishops. His recognition of the three orders, as

approved elders preside."[b] Firmilian: "All power and grace are placed in the church, where presbyters preside." Some writers also apply the terms of bishop and presbyters to the same persons: Irenæus says; "Obey those presbyters in the church who have succession from the apostles. . . . We can enumerate those who were consecrated bishops by the apostles in the churches, and their successors even to us." Many other passages from the fathers may be adduced to the same effect.

Answer. It is not denied that there are, in a certain sense, two orders in the church: but the order of presbyters or bishops

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distinct degrees of the ministry, is very explicit elsewhere. Αἱ κατα την εκκλησιαν προκοπαι, επισκοτων, πρεσβυτερων, διακαναν, μεμηματα, ὁιμαι, αγγελικης δοξης, κακεινης της οικονομιας τυγχανονσιν, ὴν αναμενειν φασιν αἱ γραφαι τους κατ' ιχνος των αποστολων εν τελειωσει δικαιοσυνης κατα το ευαγγελιον βεβιακοτας· εν νεφελαις τετης αρθηντας γραφει ὁ αποστολος, διακονησειν μεν τα πρωτα, επειτα εγκαταταγναι τω πρεσβυτεριω κατα προκοπην δοξης. (δοξα γαρ δοξης διαφερει.) αχρις αν εις τελειον ανδρα αυξησωσιν. Strom. lib. vi. c. xiii. fin. Whatever may be thought of the comparison, nothing can be more clear than that Clement regarded the ministry as made up of *three successive stages of advancement.* The context immediately preceding this passage proves, moreover, as Potter has pointed out in his note (Note 1. p. 793, ed Venet.), that Clement *identified* the highest of these orders with the apostleship, borne by the twelve.]

[b] [There is a double ambiguity in this declaration. 1. Tertullian is speaking of congregations convened for worship; in each of which, in every diocese having (as most had, even from the first) several beside that of the mother church, a 'presbyter' in the modern sense,—a member of the second order—did 'preside,' i. e. officiate, assisted by the deacon or deacons. 2. The term 'elder,' confessedly applied ever to the twelve, (e. g. Peter—1. Pet. v. i.) was loose enough, even in Tertullian's time, to allow him to make the statement generally, without excepting the mother (now called cathedral) churches, in which the overseer (bishop or apostle) of each diocese himself officiated. He was certainly 'an approved elder' in a sense sufficiently accurate for the information of the heathen, to whom Tertullian was giving an account, not of the church-government, but of the worship of the Christians.

The ambiguity of the term 'presbyter' sufficiently explains the expression of Firmilian and Irenæus, who notoriously acknowledged the episcopate (in the modern sense) as a distinct order of Divine right.]

consists of two degrees,[c] the higher of which is invested with peculiar power, as all the above writers held; for they all ac-

[c] [See note [e] on page 352.

[e] [It is to be regretted that the learned author has consented to involve himself and his reader in scholastic subtleties on this subject, for the sake of appearing (for it is only in appearance that he is successful) to reconcile variant theological opinions that have found currency in the church at divers times, without detriment to the faith, or material derogation from discipline. "Discrimen fortassis inter *ordinem*," says the learned Dean Pierce, "magis in ἐπινοίᾳ nostræ mentis (ut in hoc negotio sumitur) quam in re ipsa consistit. (So Bishop Davenant calls it 'subtilis-verborum velitatio.) Vocabula artis non debent ingredi articulum aliquem religionis; nedum litigia et lites serere." (Orthodox. Theol. Corpusc. p. 265.)

In one point of view it is certainly true that the difference between the episcopate and the presbyterate is of another kind from that between the presbyterate and the diaconate. The great ends of the ministry, to administer the word and sacraments, are subserved as effectually by the presbyter in his sphere, as by the bishop in his; they are not, and cannot be, by the deacon in any sphere, because he has received no commission to administer the eucharist, absolution or benediction. *With respect to these offices*, it is true, that the difference between the presbyter and deacon is of order; that between the presbyter and bishop, not of order, but of jurisdiction. But, then, this last is true, with regard to the not less important offices of preaching and baptizing, of the presbyter and deacon; and by parity of reason, if the presbyterate and episcopate are one order, because wherever the presbyter has a right to administer the eucharist, absolve, and bless, his administration is as valid as the bishop's; then the presbyterate and the diaconate are one order, because wherever the deacon has a right given him to baptize and preach, his administration of those ordinances is as valid as the priest's. Nay, both of priest and deacon it is true, and equally true, that their administrations, even where they have not the right (i. e. have not jurisdiction) are still valid, though irregular; those of the latter to the extent of baptizing and preaching; those of the former to that of administering the eucharist, absolution and benediction. But is it true of either, that their administration of the ordaining power, or of the government of the church as chief ruler and visiter, would be ever valid? The catholic church has never admitted that it would: and here is a distinction between the presbyterate and episcopate, as broad as that between the presbyterate and diaconate. Why it should not be called a distinction *of order*, as well as that, others must say, if they can.]

knowledge elsewhere the supremacy of one bishop in every church by apostolical or divine institution.

III. St. Jerome says that originally bishops and presbyters were the same, and "before the Devil caused parties in religion, and it was said by the people I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Peter, the churches were governed by a common council of presbyters. But after every one esteemed those whom he baptized to be his not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen from the presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom all the care of the church should pertain, and the seeds of schism be removed." He afterwards adds, that "the bishops ought to know that they are greater than presbyters, more by custom than by the truth of the Lord's institution."[d]

Answer. It is admitted that bishops and presbyters were the same at first, and that the church was governed by a council of presbyters under the apostles.[e] But as Jerome says elsewhere, that James, Polycarp, and others, were appointed bishops by the apostles,[f] he means that they did not institute the superiority of bishops *universally* till after the schism at Corinth; which is very probable. In fact, the superiority of bishops to presbyters, when he wrote, arose more from custom than divine institution. That is to say, the bishops had probably obtained greater jurisdiction at that time than they possessed at first; and the full amount of that jurisdiction was not *essential* to the episcopal order by divine institution. Besides this, many offices which presbyters might have performed, were at that time reserved ordinarily to the bishop, such as preaching, baptizing,

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[d] Hieronymus, comment. in Epist. ad Titum, c. i.

[e] [The author may choose to make such admission, for the sake of truth, or argument. The editor, with the most careful study he has been able to give to the matter, has never succeeded in finding any *reason* for the admission.]

[f] Hieron. De Script. Eccl. t. iv. In his commentary on Titus, t. iv. p. 123, he says, "Quod fecerunt et apostoli, per singulas provincias, presbyteros et episcopos ordinantes."

confirming, celebrating the eucharist. Thus the superiority of bishops was more from the custom of the catholic church than from the divine injunction.[g] In the same manner we may easily answer any similar passages from other writers.

IV. Hilary the deacon, in commenting on the epistle to Timothy, says, "After the bishop he subjoins the ordination of a deacon. And why, unless because the ordination of a bishop and a presbyter is the same. For each is a priest, but the bishop is first, so that every bishop is a presbyter, not every presbyter a bishop; for he is a bishop who is the first among the presbyters. In fine, he signifies that Timothy was ordained a presbyter; but because he had no other above him, he was a bishop."[h] He intimates also that the consecration of bishops was introduced afterwards by a council.

Answer. These are peculiar opinions inconsistent with the general sentiment of the fathers, and the practice of the catholic church. This writer's judgment is not much to be relied on, as he joined the Luciferian schism, and insisted that heretics of all sorts ought to be re-baptized. However, he agreed with the catholic church in regarding bishops as successors of the apostles, and as constituted by divine authority in every church. His opinion that the consecration of bishops was introduced by some council, is contradicted by all the records of history: and the doctrine of Cyprian, 130 years before, that the consecration of bishops was derived from divine and apostolical tradition is infinitely more probable.

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[g] [See below; where the author shows that in a certain sense (probably Jerome's) this is true also of presbyters. Page 375, No. 3.]

[h] Hilarius, Comment. in 1 Tim. Vide Ambrosii Opera.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PRESBYTERATE.

In treating of the presbyterate, I shall consider first, its institution and its powers during the earliest ages of the church; secondly, the introduction of the parochial system; and thirdly, the changes in general discipline and the offices of the priesthood which thence arose.

1. The sacred order of presbyters or elders (sometimes styled bishops in holy scripture,) was properly instituted by the apostles after the ascension,[a] though the powers with which they invested it, had been previously given to themselves by Christ at the institution of the holy eucharist, "Do this in remembrance of me;"[b] and before his ascension: "Whosesoever sins ye remit,"[c] &c.; and therefore the apostles were also presbyters, as St. Peter styles himself: "The presbyters which are among you I exhort, who am also a presbyter;[d]" and also St. John: "the presbyter unto the elect lady,[e]" "the presbyter unto the well-beloved Gaius."[f]

2. We know not the exact period at which the apostles first ordained presbyters. We do not read of their existence before A. D. 43, when the disciples of Antioch sent their collections to "the presbyters," in Judæa.[g] The term is here probably to be taken in the ordinary sense: at least we find about A. D. 48, "the presbyters" of Jerusalem are spoken of as distinct from the apostles,[h] and before this Paul and Barnabas had "ordained

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[a] [On the existence of the three orders during the personal ministry of our Lord, see the conclusive reasoning of Bp. H. U. Onderdonk, Episcopacy Examined. p. 240. 245.]

[b] Luke xxii. 19. [c] John xx. 23. [d] 1 Pet. v. 1.

[e] 2 John 1. [f] 3 John 1. [g] Acts xi. 30.

[h] Acts xv. 2. 4. 6. 22, 23. xvi. 4.

presbyters in every church" they re-visited.[i] About A. D. 56, Paul sent for "the presbyters of the church" of Ephesus;[k] and we afterwards read of bishops or presbyters at Phillippi:[l] and the directions to Timothy and Titus for their ordination in every city;[m] the exhortation of St. Peter to "the presbyters;"[n] and of St. James, "is any one sick among you, let him send for the presbyters of the church:"[o] suffice to prove the general ordination of presbyters by the apostles.

3. It is nowhere directly taught in scripture that this order is of divine institution; but we are entitled to infer that it is so on this principle, that whatever offices were instituted by the apostles for the ordinary government of the church, were instituted under the direction of the Holy Ghost; and that presbyters (and afterwards bishops) as well as deacons, were intended for the ordinary ministry of the church, we reasonably infer from their institution in *every* church, and their continuance at all times in the catholic church. Accordingly, we find St. Paul saying to the presbyters of Ephesus, "take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the HOLY GHOST hath made you bishops, to feed the church of God."[p]

4. There were several presbyters in each church from the beginning; at least in all churches where there were a considerable number of the faithful. The presbyters of Jerusalem, Ephesus, Philippi, are spoken of in the plural number in scripture. This was continued after the institution of the episcopal office. S. Ignatius often speaks of a plurality of presbyters in particular churches.[q] S. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, addresses the Philippians, "Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God at Philippi."[r] In the middle of

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[i] Acts xiv. 22.
[k] Acts xx. 17. 28.
[l] Phil. i. 1.
[m] 1 Tim. iii.; Tit. i. 5.
[n] 1 Pet. v. 1.
[o] James v. 14.
[p] Acts. xx. 28.
[q] Ignatii Epist. ad Ephes. Magnes. Trall. Philadelph. Smyr. Polycarp.
[r] Polycarp. Epist. ad Phil. Routh, Opuscula Script. Eccl. t. i. p. 9.

the third century there were at Rome, under Cornelius, forty-four presbyters,[s] and at the same time there were many presbyters at Carthage under Cyprian.

5. The office of presbyters, like that of bishops, consisted in "feeding the church of God," and overseeing it;[t] exhorting and convincing the gainsayers by sound doctrine.[u] Being invested with the power of teaching, they also possessed authority in controversies. The church of Antioch sent to Jerusalem to consult the apostles and "presbyters" on the question of circumcision: and we find afterwards that heretics were sometimes condemned by the judgment of presbyters, as well as bishops, in councils. They possessed in their degree the power of remitting or retaining sins by absolution, and by spiritual censures.[v] They must, even at the beginning have had the power of baptizing and celebrating the eucharist, of performing other rites, and of offering up public prayers in the absence of the apostles, or by their permission; and the institution of bishops in every church by the apostles only restrained the ordinary exercise of these powers. We know in particular from St. James, that presbyters had authority to visit the sick and offer prayers, anointing them with oil for the recovery for their health.

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[s] Eusebb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 43.

[t] Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 1. [u] Tit. i. 9.

[v] Thomassinus mentions instances of excommunications by presbyters about the end of the fourth century, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. Part I. lib. ii. c. 23, s. 10. 13; also in the time of Charlemagne, Ibid. c. 24, s. 5; and up to the thirteenth century, c. 26, s. 6, 7. Jo. de Athon in his Comment, (about 1290,) on the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othobon, says, a "Rector curatus" may excommunicate. (Const. Otho, Quanto Scripturarum ver. etiam a prælatis; Const. Othob. Ad tutelam ver. excommunicatione ligatus.) Lyndwood in the fifteenth century, says, "Simplices tamen curati hoc non possunt hodie, quia præscriptum est contra eos." (Provinciale Angliæ, De Consue. c. statutum, ver. censura ecclesiastica.) However, the presbyters our churches have still the power of the minor excommunication provisionally, until the bishop decide in the case. See Rubric before the Communion Office.

From the time of the apostles, the office of public teaching in the church, and of administering the sacraments, was always performed by the bishop, unless in cases of great necessity.[w] The power of spiritual jurisdiction in each church, of regulating its affairs generally, and especially its discipline, was shared by the bishop with the presbyters, who also instructed and admonished the people in private. The presbyters sat on seats or thrones at the east end of the church, and the bishop on a higher throne in the midst of them. In some churches they laid their hands with the bishop on the head of those who were ordained presbyters, and in others administered confirmation.[x] Thus the presbyterate was always esteemed a most high dignity or degree in the church, and it was not much inferior to the episcopate in most respects.

II. We next proceed to consider the changes which introduced the parochial system now generally prevalent in the church.[y]

The churches founded by the apostles were always[z] in cities of some magnitude, where several presbyters were requisite for the guidance of a numerous people. It remained for the church to adapt their system to the change of circumstances, when the inhabitants of villages and of the rural districts around each city also became Christian. Hence arose the institution of rural presbyters and lesser parishes, included within the greater parish or diocese. As the apostles had originally

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w Bingham, Antiquities, book ii. c. 3.

x For the powers of Presbyters generally in the primitive church, see Bingham, b. ii. c. 19.

y See Thomassinus, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. Part I. lib. ii. c. 21—28; Bingham, Antiquities, book ix. c. 8; Dansey, Horæ Decan. Rurales.

z [Yet Clement of Rome (who should have known) says expressly οἱ ἀπόστολοι——κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες κατέστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν——εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. ad Cor. c. 42. The last words, especially, indicate that it was not their custom to wait until exigencies required a perfect ministry, but to anticipate the needs of the people.]

placed churches under the superintendence of presbyters, over whom they themselves exercised jurisdiction; so the bishop of each city ordained presbyters for the rural districts, over whom he exercised superintendence. Such rural presbyters are mentioned by Epiphanius as existing in Mesopotamia in the middle of the third century: and Dionysius of Alexandria, about the same time, alludes to them in Egypt; as Athanasius does in the following century, in speaking of Ischyras, (Apol. 2.) The councils of Eliberis (c. 77) and Neocæsarea (c. 15,) at the beginning of the fourth century, also mention them. Bingham observes, that these lesser parishes had their origin, not at one time or by any general decree, but as the exigencies of every diocese required it. In the fourth century, rural presbyters were commonly instituted; and they were placed under the immediate inspection of chorepiscopi or rural bishops, and visitors, who were commissioned by the bishop of the whole diocese or παροικία. The country clergy in the diocese of Cæsarea in the time of S. Basil, were under the superintendence of no less than fifty rural bishops. Thus arose the lesser rural parishes: and the oblations, tithes, &c., of these districts were in after ages assigned to their particular clergy, instead of going tot he general fund of the church.

The institution of districts and of lesser parishes in the cities themselves is of uncertain antiquity. In the Roman church it is said, on rather doubtful authority, to have been effected by Dionysius, bishop in the third century. In the following century we read of many churches at Rome, Alexandria, Carthage, &c. It is observed by Bingham, that the lesser churches or tituli in cities, were not usually at first appropriated to particular presbyters, but were served in common by the presbyters of the principal church.[a] The opinion of Thomassin is very probable, that public baptism, reconciliation of penitents, and the consecration of the eucharist, were for a long time performed by the bishop at the cathedral, and not in the lesser churches;

[a] Bingham, Antiquities, book ix. c. 8. s. 5.

though a different custom gradually prevailed.[b] At the beginning of the fifth century, as we learn from the epistle of Innocentius to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium, the presbyters of all the Roman tituli or lesser churches, received on every Lord's day the sacrament consecrated by the bishop, and did not themselves consecrate; that power being exercised apparently only by the presbyters of the churches of the martyrs, which were in the country.[c] The presbyters of the city, constituting the original presbytery of the church, were of more authority and dignity than the rural presbyters, who were forbidden by the council of Neocæsarea to officiate in the city unless in the absence of the bishop and presbyters, (can. 13.) They had the whole cure of souls under the bishop, either conjointly or separately, and preserved their privileges generally. But in later ages, presbyters under their direction were assigned to the lesser churches in the city; parochial districts were formed, and the presbyters of the principal church, who were finally entitled CANONICI and PREBENDARII, and lived together under peculiar rules and statutes, were gradually divested of the cure of souls, though they still had great authority and privileges, and, together with the great officers of the church, such as the archdeacon, &c., were regarded generally the bishop's council in all the affairs of the church.[d] These alterations were introduced gradually and by the internal regulations of each particular church.

III. We are to consider, thirdly, the changes in general discipline and in the offices of the priesthood which resulted from these institutions.

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[b] Thomassin. pars i. lib. ii. c. 21. [c] Ibid.

[d] For the origin and history of Chapters, see Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. pars i. lib. iii. c. 7—10. See also Van Espen, Jus Univers. Eccl. pars. i. tit. 8. [The American reader, familiar with the organization of the churches in this country, will perceive in the Clerical Standing Committees of Connecticut and Maryland, the preservation of this relict of the primitive 'corona presbyterum.']

The rural presbyters were of the same merit and sacerdotal dignity as those of the city; but their great number, and the remoteness of their situations in rural districts rendered it impossible to consult them ordinarily on the general affairs of the church, or to unite them with the original presbytery. Thus they were invested only with a particular jurisdiction in their respective parishes, and were placed generally under the bishop's superintendence and visitation. On the other hand, they necessarily obtained the right of performing ordinarily and publicly in their churches, almost all those offices which were chiefly reserved to the bishop in the city. The city presbyters of both kinds above mentioned, themselves gradually obtained similar privileges by the concession of the bishops; and in return transferred to them by a tacit consent, much of their ordinary power of jurisdiction. Even in the time of St. Jerome, it seems that the tendency of popular feeling was to depress the dignity and authority of the priesthood; and he magnified that office to the utmost limit in opposing himself to these errors. The bishops of the fourth council of Carthage decreed, with laudable piety and humility: "ut episcopus quolibet loco sedens, stare presbyterum non patiatur;"[e] and "ut episcopus in ecclesia, et in consessu presbyterorum sublimior sedeat; intra domum vero collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat."[f] The wealth and temporal power of bishops during the middle ages, may have induced some of the ignorant to suppose that presbyters were exceedingly inferior to bishops; but the catholic church, which sees with the eye of Faith, as she acknowledges the same sacred dignity of the priesthood in every bishop, whether oppressed with extreme poverty, or whether invested with princely dignity and wealth, also views the greatness and the sanctity of the office of presbyter, as little inferior to those even of the chief pastors who succeed the apostles; and the church has never flourished more, nor has the episcopate ever been held in truer reverence, than under the guidance of those

[e] Carthag. iv. c. 34. Harduin. Conc. t. i. p. 981. [f] Can. xxxv.

apostolical prelates who, like S. Cyprian, resolved to do nothing without the consent of the church, and who have most sedulously avoided even the appearance of "being lords over God's heritage." The spirit of genuine Christianity will lead the presbyters to reverence and obey the bishops as their fathers; and will induce bishops to esteem the presbyters as fellow-workers together with them, and brethren in Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DIACONATE.

We find deacons but rarely spoken of in scripture. The first appointment of deacons[a] is mentioned (Acts vi.) to have been made in consequence of the murmuring of the Greeks that they were neglected in the daily ministrations. We do not hear of them afterwards till St. Paul addressed his epistle to the Philippian church, whose "deacons" he mentions;[b] and in his first epistle to Timothy, directions are given for the choice of deacons,[c] which infer that they were then as commonly established in the church as presbyters. S. Clement of Rome says that the apostles, having preached everywhere, "ordained their first fruits bishops and deacons." Ignatius and Polycarp also mention the deacons of the churches they wrote to. Deacons are also mentioned by Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c., and without doubt the order continued always in the church.[d]

The office of deacons seems at first to have related chiefly to the administering relief to the poorer brethren: but scrip-

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[a] [That this was 'the *first* appointment' to that office is bare assumption. Bp. H. U. Onderdonk has shown that existed 'in re' at least, before our Lord's ascension. The probability is, that there were many in the diaconate before the ordination providing for a special emergency, recorded in Acts vi. Episcopacy Examined, 234. ss. The very plausible hypothesis of Dr. Mosheim, (Comm. de Rebus Christ. p. 118. ss.) though perfectly consistent with Bishop Onderdonk's line of proof, is wholly independent of it.]

[b] Phil. i. 1. [c] 1 Tim. iii. 8, &c.

[d] For ample information with regard to deacons in the church, see Bingham, Antiquities, book ii. c. 20. Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. pars i. lib. ii. c. 29—33.

ture does not limit them to this duty: and in fact we find Stephen *preaching* the gospel,[e] and Philip the deacon both preaching and *baptizing*.[f] These instances are sufficient to justify the church in permitting the deacons, in case of necessity, both to preach and to baptize. According to Bingham their ordinary duties in the primitive church consisted in taking care of the utensils of the altar, receiving the oblations of the people, delivering them to the priest, reading aloud the names of benefactors, distributing the consecrated elements and carrying them to the absent, directing the behaviour of the people in church, attending on the bishops and acting as their messengers and representatives in synods, sometimes keeping the doors during the celebration of the sacred service, inquiring after the poor and acting as almoners to them, informing the bishop of misdemeanours, in some churches acting as catechists.[g] It seems that for many centuries, the *ordinary* office of the deacon related rather to such duties as are now performed by our parish-clerks and churchwardens, than to the higher parts of the ministerial office.

In the oriental churches the diaconate has always continued to be not only an order, but an office with distinct duties in every church: so that no bishop or presbyter officiates without the assistance of his deacon. Thomassin says that it was not only an order and office, but a benefice in the church for twelve centuries.[h] It was so at Rome certainly, where, as we learn from S. Jerome, the seven deacons had larger revenues than the presbyters. Pope Cælestinus in the twelfth century, had been deacon of Rome for sixty-five years, before he was made bishop.[i] Gregory the Great desired one cardinal presbyter and two deacons to be ordained in the church at Populonia. Paschal II. in giving directions to the bishop of Compostella for the regulation of his church, after A.D. 1000, desires him to

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[e] Acts vi. 10. [f] Acts. viii. 5. 38. [g] Bingham, ut supra.

[h] Thomassin. pars i. lib. i. c. 51. n. 1; lib. ii. c. 33. n. 8.

[i] Ibid. pars i. lib. ii. c. 33. n. 9.

ordain cardinal presbyters and deacons. The council of Saumur, 1253, desired that deacons who refused to be ordained priests, should be deprived of *sacerdotal* prebends, thereby intimating that there were prebends for deacons also.[k] The only benefice, however, originally instituted for deacons, which still remains generally in the western churches, is that of archdeacon; but this can now be only held by presbyters, in consequence of the jurisdiction attached to it, though even so late as the fifteenth century in England, the archdeacons were often only in deacon's orders.[l]

It appears to me very probable, that in the west, deacons were often not ordained in the lesser churches. In England, at least, we find but few traces of the order as a distinct office in parish churches. The council of Cloveshoe (747) makes many regulations as to presbyters, "who were placed by the bishops throughout the places and regions of the laity;" but deacons are not mentioned.[m] The constitutions of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury for his diocese (943) only contain chapters on the duty of presbyters and clerks, not of deacons.[n] Hence, it seems probable that even then, it was not common to ordain deacons in the lesser churches, but clerks of the minor orders, as was long afterwards the custom.[o]

The order of deacons, however, was always retained in the western churches, according to the ancient canons, which prescribed it as a necessary qualification for the superior orders. These deacons either exercised their office of deacon in the churches to which they were ordained, or were taken by the parochial presbyters (called in the middle ages Rector curatus, Vicarius perpetuus, or Parochus), as their assistants. It ap-

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[k] Ibid. pars. i. lib. iii. c. 9, 10.

[l] Lyndwood says, "Si tamem archidiaconus esset presbyter, *quod esse potest*, tunc tam ratione ordinis quam jurisdictionis præcelleret decanum." Provinciale Angliæ, p. 117. ed. 1679.

[m] Wilkins's Concilia, t. i. p. 747.

[n] Ibid. p. 213.

[o] Stillingfleet, Ecclesiastical Cases, Works, vol. iii. p. 650.

pears from the annotations of John de Athon on the constitutions of cardinal Otho, that even in 1290 the temporary vicars, or (as we now call them) stipendiary curates, in England, were sometimes only in deacon's orders.[p] In the fifteenth century, we learn from Lyndwood, that the curates or rectors themselves were sometimes only in deacon's orders, and that deacons thus beneficed might *preach*.[q]

Van Espen says, that in the Roman churches, "as far as concerns deacons, the modern discipline has so declined, that scarcely any office is left to the deacons except the ministry of the altar. And even in this, the ministry of the deacons is often (especially in cathedral and collegiate churches) supplied by presbyters: so that at last it has come to this, that deacons are not ordained to discharge the duties of deacons, but to ascend by the diaconate as a step to the presbyterate. Whence also no one is ordained deacon in order that he may continue in tha office, but in order that he may be promoted to the presbyterate, when the canonical interval of time has elapsed. Whether this be entirely conformable to the will and intention of the church, let the bishops consider."[r]

The duties ascribed to deacons by our churches, are first, *assisting* the priest in divine service, especially in the communion, and distributing the eucharist; secondly, reading scripture and homilies in the church; thirdly, catechizing; fourthly, baptizing in the priest's absence; fifthly, preaching, if he be licensed by the bishop; sixthly, offices of charity towards the poor,[s] &c. These were exactly the duties of the deacon in the primitive church. It does not seem, either by the forms of ordination or by the ritual, that the church formally invests deacons with the power of celebrating divine service without a presbyter; or performing the rites of marriage, benediction of women

[p] Jo. de Athon. in Lyndwood's Provinciale, p. 24. ed. 1679.

[q] Lyndwood's Provinciale, p. 288.

[r] Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, t. i. p. 5, 6.

[s] Ordination of Deacons.

after childbirth, visitation of the sick, or burial of the dead. Nor does she give them cure of souls or jurisdiction. It appears to me, that the occasional exercise of such functions by deacons, is rather by the tacit license and dispensation of the church than by any actual law. It cannot be the intention of the church that parishes should ever be left to the care of deacons, except in cases of absolute necessity; because they are not qualified to administer the sacrament of the holy eucharist, and other high offices of the ministry.

APPENDIX.

ON THE MINOR ORDERS.

The minor clergy of the church were generally set apart for offices which might have been discharged by deacons, or by laymen. We may, therefore, speak of them here. The churches which follow the Roman rite, reckon four minor orders, besides subdeacons, who have latterly been considered as one of the sacred orders, viz. readers, acolytes, exorcists, and ostiarii. The Greeks account as minor orders, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ostiarii, or doorkeepers. It is needless to detail the particular duties of these orders, which may be seen in the works of various writers.[t] These ancient orders of ecclesiastical institution, came at length in many churches to be conferred as merely introductory to the sacred orders of deacon and presbyter, while their duties were discharged by laymen. In the seventh century, the readers and singers in the Armenian churches were laymen: in the eighth century, the readers, and in the twelfth the ostiarii and exorcists, were

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[t] Field, Of the Church, book v. c. 25; Bingham, Antiquities, book iii.; Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. pars i. lib. ii. c. 30, &c.

laymen in the Greek church. Before the year 1300, the four junior orders of acolyte, exorcist, reader, and ostiarius, began to be conferred together in the western churches. Not long after, it became customary to release the clerks thus ordained from the necessity of performing the duties of their orders, which were confided to lay-clerks. The councils of Cologne and Trent in vain endeavoured to alter this custom; and laymen continue generally to fulfil the offices of the ancient orders in the Roman churches to the present day.[u] In England the same custom has prevailed, and the minor orders having become merely titular, were disused in the reformation of our churches. It may be observed, that all the inferior orders in the western churches wore the surplice in church, except subdeacons, who during the eucharist used the alb and tunicle.

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[u] Thomassin. ut supra.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MINISTER OF ORDINATION.

The question concerning the proper minister of ordination has been much debated between the church and different sects: the Independents maintaining that popular election is the only essential; or that it supersedes the necessity of any other ordination: the Presbyterians asserting that presbyters of the second order are the proper ministers of ordination; and the church holding that her chief ministers alone are empowered by divine right, at least in ordinary cases, to ordain. I say, "in ordinary cases," because several theologians of the church in different ages have been of opinion, that in extraordinary cases, or by commission of the church, even presbyters might ordain. Several of the schoolmen held that a mere presbyter might confer every order except the episcopate, by commission from the church. Vasquez[a] inclines to this opinion. Morinus[b] refers to many of the schoolmen and others in proof of its truth. Of this opinion also have been several writers of the English church, whose orthodoxy is unquestionable, amongst whom may be mentioned Jewel, Hooker,[c] and Field.[d] The latter argues in favour of it, and adduces the sentiments of the schoolmen, Armachanus, Alexander de Hales, Durandus,[e] &c.

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[a] Vasquez, in iii. par. S. Thomæ, q. 243. art. 3, 4.

[b] Morinus de Ordin. par. iii. exerc. iv. c. 3, 4.

[c] Hooker, Works, vol. iii. p. 286. ed. Keble. I am not certain that Hooker regarded such ordinations as more than *justifiable*. He certainly considers them as only conferring an "extraordinary vocation," and hence it might be supposed that he judged it only permissible for a time, and under urgent necessities.

[d] Field, Of the Church, book iii. c. 39. v. 56.

[e] Ibid.

The validity of ordinations given by presbyters in case of necessity, has occasionally been supported by writers in the church of England since, and without censure. Nor does it seem that this opinion, if rightly understood, and *discreetly* advanced, involves any consequences injurious to religion, since were it even admitted that presbyters might confer a valid ordination, this would not infer that ministers of sects and heresies are truly ministers of God; for no one would allow that the priests of the Arians, or Monophysites, or Donatists, were ministers of Jesus Christ, though they had actually received a valid ordination, as far as the external form was concerned. And although a person should think it possible that presbyterian ordinations may be valid, he may also hold that episcopal ordinations are more secure; and that for this reason, (as well as for the sake of a charitable accordance with the general practice and opinion of the church), they ought to be obtained where it is possible. On the other hand, those who admit that where certain external forms of ordination have been observed in heresy and schism, the church need not re-ordain heretical ministers who embrace her communion; such persons, I say, do not, or ought not, to allow that there are ministers of Christ, or real bishops and presbyters among those who are ordained in separation from the catholic church; because there is no reason to believe that the divine commission is ever given except in the church of Christ. And therefore I hold that the ministers of the papists in this country, should be regarded as equally devoid of authority and right with those of other sectaries. And further, if it be supposed that presbyterian ordinations are not valid, it by no means follows that we are bound to *condemn* them in *every case:* for instance, the appointment of ministers by the Lutheran party in Germany during the Reformation, was probably invalid; and yet, considering their difficulties; the fact of their appeal to a general council; their expecting to be reunited to the church; and therefore the impossibility of establishing a rival hierarchy; I think we are not bound to condemn their appointments of ministers, as many

learned and orthodox writers have done, who, however, seem not to have observed the peculiarities of their position, and to have supposed that they were at once definitively separated from the Roman churches.[f]

That ordinations by mere presbyters are, (however excusable and justifiable under certain circumstances), in fact, unauthorized and invalid, is the more usual sentiment of theologians, and is most accordant with scripture, and with the practice of the catholic church in general, and of our churches in particular, which do not recognize any such ordinations.

I. We do not find in scripture any instances of presbyters of the second order ordaining. It is true, that when Paul and Barnabas were sent to preach to the Gentiles, certain prophets and teachers at Antioch, while they ministered to the Lord and fasted, received a command from the Holy Ghost, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."[g] But this is not a case of mere presbyterian ordination.[h] We do not know whether

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[f] [Again let it be observed, that the question to be argued is not the guilt or blamelessness of the separatists; but the *fact*, whether they *had* a divine commission to perpetuate? No à posteriori proof of necessity can evince the affirmative. What they *had* not, they could not *give*, be the need never so urgent.]

[g] Acts xiii. 1—3.

[h] [Why not at once state the fact, that it is no ordination at all? It is the mere appointment of Paul and Barnabas to a certain field of duty. In Acts xiv. 26, we read that the apostles, having returned, gave an account of the *fulfilment* of "the work" to which they had been appointed. Paul himself assures us, that his apostleship was not conferred on him by any human instrumentality; Gal. i. 1; and the whole tenor of his statement in the first two chapters of the epistle to the Galatians, is utterly inconsistent with the supposition of his ordination *to the ministry*, in any form or grade, by the hand of man. We have also, in Acts ix. 30, an account of his previous mission to Tarsus and Cilicia (comp. Gal. i. 21), where, as Professor Burton has shown, (Lect. on Hist. of Church in the first cent. p. 135. 147. 158), he founded the churches which he afterwards (Acts xv.

these prophets and teachers were presbyters. Certain it is, that they were *inspired by the Holy Ghost* to set apart Paul and Barnabas for their work: but no one would deny that the Holy Ghost has the power of sending labourers at all times into the vineyard, and that even if presbyters now should receive such a command, the mission of the person so set apart would be divine. It is also true, that Timothy was ordained by the "presbytery;"[i] [k] but, as we do not exactly know the meaning of this term, which is understood by the Greek fathers to mean bishops, and by the Latin fathers to mean the presbyterate, or order of priesthood, so it is plain, that the apostle Paul himself formed one of this presbytery:[l] and therefore the ordination of Timothy affords no sanction for those performed by *presbyters only*.

On the other hand, we find in Scripture abundant instances, in which ordinations were performed by the apostles, and by their assistants and deputies. Thus Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters in every church.[m] Timothy and Titus were left at Ephesus and in Crete, to set things in order and to ordain presbyters in every church.[n] The seven deacons were elected by the people, but ordained by the apostles.[o] Hence it would seem, that the power of ordination is vested in the apostles, their deputies, and successors.

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41) revisited, in company with Barnabas.—The transaction in Acts xiii. 1—4 may be compared with a farewell missionary meeting, in which persons previously ordained presbyters or bishops, receive jurisdiction in the mission to which they have been appointed.]

[i] 1 Tim. iv. 14.

[k] [Not so, most certainly: he was ordained *by* the apostle Paul, (2 Tim. i. 6: δια της επιθεσεως των χειρων μου), *with* laying on of hands of the presbytery (μετα επιθεσεως των χειρων του πρεσβυτεριου—1 Tim. iv. 14). Nothing can be more explicit: even to the use of the article, every thing points out the different shares of the ordaining apostle, and the consenting presbyters, in the transaction.]

[l] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[m] Acts xiv. 22.

[n] 1 Tim. iii; Tit. i. 5.

[o] Acts vi.

The power of ordination was given to the apostles and their successors, by these words: "As my Father hath sent me even so send I you,"[p] which authorized them to send others to preach the gospel. Now, the bishops were certainly most properly the successors of the apostles, as being supreme ministers of the church; and the voice of all ages has given to them peculiarly this title.[q] To them, therefore, principally is the commission of Christ directed, and consequently there cannot be authority to ordain without them.

II. The uniform practice and doctrine of the church, as far back as we can trace it, is opposed to the validity of ordinations performed by presbyters only.

We find several instances in which such ordinations were declared null, but not a single case has been adduced in which they were really allowed. In 324, the council of all the Egyptian bishops assembled at Alexandria under Hosius, declared null and void the ordinations performed by Colluthus, a presbyter of Alexandria, who had separated from his bishop and pretended to act as a bishop himself.[r] In 340, the Egyptian bishops, in their defence of St. Athanasius, alluding to Ischyras, who pretended to be a priest, said, "Whence then was Ischyras a presbyter? Who was his ordainer? Colluthus? For this only remains. But it is known to all and doubted by no one, that Colluthus died a presbyter; that his hands were without authority; and that all who were ordained by him in time of the schism, were reduced to the state of laymen, and as such attend the church's assemblies."[s] In the first council of Seville, the ordinations performed by the bishop of Agabra were declared null, because an assisting presbyter was accustomed to read

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[p] John xx. 21. [q] See above, Chapter I. art. v.

[r] Presbyteri et Diaconi Mareotæ.—Athanas. Oper. t. i. p. 193.

[s] Πόθεν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Ἰσχύρας; τίνος καταστήσαντος; ὄρα Κολλούθου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν ἀλλ' ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος, καὶ πάντης οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ καταστάθέντες ἐν τῷ σχίσματι λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ οὕτως συνάγονται, δῆλον, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀμφίβολον.—Athan. Oper. t. i. p. 134.

the prayer of ordination, on account of the bishop's blindness, who, however, laid his hands on those who were to be ordained.[t] This manifests strongly the judgment of the church on the subject of ordinations by presbyters. Epiphanius refutes the doctrine of Aërius, observing that bishops beget fathers of the church by ordination, presbyters beget sons only by baptism, and concludes: "How can he constitute a presbyter, who has no right to ordain him by imposition of hands?"[u] Jerome asks, "What, except ordination, does a bishop, which a presbyter does not also?"[v] Chrysostom also, who esteems the presbyterate very little inferior to the episcopate, holds that the power of ordination is entirely vested in the latter.[w]

III. We know also that the rule of the church was, that all ordinations should be performed by bishops. The successor of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch in the third century, was ordained by the bishops of the synod of Antioch.[x] Cornelius of Rome, about A. D. 250, was ordained by sixteen bishops.[y] Cyprian was also ordained by several bishops;[z] and he held the custom to be derived from divine tradition and apostolic observance.[a] Sabinus was ordained by several bishops in Spain.[b] In the time of Cyprian a bishop was ordained at Capsæ in Numidia, by six bishops.[c] Long before his time, flourished Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, who according to Eusebius was contemporary with Clement of Alexandria. His successor, about A.D. 200, was ordained by bishops.[d] Even the schismatic

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t Concil. Hispal. ii. can. 19.—Harduin. Concil. t. iii. p. 561.

u Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστι πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας, ἢ διδασκάλους· καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθίσαι, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν.—Epiph. Hæres. 75. Oper. t. i. p. 908. ed. 1682.

v Hieronymus, Epist. ad Evangelum, t. iv. pars ii. p. 802.

w Chrysost. in Epist. ad Phil. 1. Oper. t. xi. p. 195.

x Euseb. lib. vii. c. 30.

y Cypr. Epist. 52. z Ibid. 55. a Ibid. 68. ed. Pamel.

b Ibid. c Ibid. 53.

d Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 12; lib. vi. c. 10.

Novatian, in the time of Cyprian, procured ordination from three bishops;[e] and Fortunatus, who set himself up as bishop of Carthage against Cyprian, was ordained by five bishops.[f] The apostolical canons which represent the discipline of the East, probably in the preceding century, limit all ordinations to the bishops.[g] No difficulties induced the church to break through this rule. Never do we read, even in the height of the Arian persecutions, of any attempt to supply the necessities of the churches by means of presbyterian ordinations: no, not though it was held that in a time of such necessity, all the ordinary rules might be dispensed with. Even when the Vandals exiled the whole body of the African bishops to the number of nearly 500,[h] we read of no attempt to deviate from the universal rule.

While it is evident that ordinations were never performed by presbyters without bishops, it is equally clear that ordinations by bishops without presbyters were universal. In all episcopal ordinations from the earliest period, bishops only officiated: but the custom of the African church in the fourth century, which permitted presbyters to lay on their hands with the bishop in the ordination of presbyters,[i] and which was afterwards adopted by the Roman and other western churches, was never received in the East. In all the eastern churches from the time of the apostles to the present day, the bishop *alone* lays hands on the presbyters. This custom was known and sanctioned by the western churches, and therefore they must have held that ordination by the bishop alone was the essential and apostolical rite of initiation.

IV. I argue thus in conclusion. That mode of ordination

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[e] Euseb. lib. v. c. 43.

[f] Cypr. Epist. 55. ed. Pamel.

[g] Apost. can. 1, 2.—Beveregii. Pandect. t. i. p. 1.

[h] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. xxx. s. 7.

[i] Even in Africa and in Spain bishops *might* ordain without presbyters. —See Bilson, Perpet. Gov. p. 255, 256. This in fact was the more general custom of the church.—Ibid. p. 257.

by which ministers are appointed according to the divine will and institution to tend the flock of Jesus Christ, must have prevailed at all times and in all places. But episcopal ordination has so prevailed, and presbyterian has not: therefore the former alone confers the divine commission.

OBJECTIONS.

I. St. Jerome testifies in his epistle to Evangelus, that presbyters and bishops were originally the same, "but the reason for which one was afterwards chosen to be set over the rest, was as a remedy of schism, lest each drawing the church of Christ to himself, it might rend asunder. For at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist down to Heraclas and Dionysius bishops, the presbyters always chose one of themselves, and setting him in a higher place, saluted him bishop; as if an army should make a general, or the deacons should elect out of themselves one whom they knew to be diligent, and call him archdeacon. For what office does a bishop perform, except ordination, which a presbyter does not also."[k] Therefore it appears that the bishop of Alexandria was elected from among the presbyters *without any ordination.*

Answer. If he was so, presbyterian ordinations, at least, derive no support from this passage, for presbyterians elect no bishops, and the ordination of *presbyters* is here evidently ascribed by St. Jerome to the bishop only. But St. Jerome does not *say* that the bishop thus elected was not afterwards

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[k] "Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est; ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat; aut diaconi eligant de se quem industrium noverint et archidiaconum vocent. Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?"—Hier. Epist. ci. ad Evangelum, Oper. t. iv. pars ii. p. 802. ed. Benedict.

consecrated by bishops. He merely adduces this old custom of election at Alexandria,[1] as a relic of what he believed to have been the original episcopacy, namely, the appointment of one of the presbyters to preside over the rest. This presbyter he might very well believe to have by divine right a superior jurisdiction and a peculiar right of ordination, even though he was called to his office by election only: because he might suppose that in the ordination of a presbyter a power was given which might, by election to the episcopate, be further developed and extended, even to the power of conferring orders.[m] But to return to the question of fact. It is not credible that the bishops of Alexandria, even so late as the time of Dionysius, who died A. D. 264, should have had no consecration from bishops. The primitive church which contended so earnestly on the day of celebrating Easter, and the reiteration of the baptism of heretics, would scarcely have passed over in total silence a mode of appointment so unusual, so contrary to the general rule. How is it, that among all the controversies concerning presbyterian ordinations performed by Colluthus in Egypt, even in Alexandria, only about sixty years after the time of Dionysius, there should be no allusion to a custom so extraordinary and so directly bearing on the point in controversy? How is it, that within forty years after the time of Dionysius, we find all the bishops of the Meletians ordained, not by presbyters, but by Meletius himself? And how is it,

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[1] The custom of the church of Alexandria, even in the sixth century, was for the bishop elect to assume jurisdiction and sit as bishop, apparently before consecration. Liberatus, A. D. 553, says, "consuetudo quidem est Alexandriæ, illum qui defuncto succedit, excubias super defuncti corpus agere, manumque dexteram ejus capiti suo imponere, et sepulto manibus suis, accipere collo suo B. Marci pallium, et tunc legitime sedere."—Breviar. c. 20. Here nothing is said of consecration, yet we know from history, that these bishops had for a long time before, always been consecrated like other bishops.

[m] [A strange supposition! very like the physical theory of the development of organization from the monad!]

that no one but Jerome should notice so remarkable a custom, one certainly unparalleled elsewhere in the world in that age, and contrary to all the rules and laws of the church? The simple fact is, that St. Jerome only states the custom of the church of Alexandria at the *election* of bishops, which he thinks is a confirmation of his theory of the original episcopacy; and if his argument seems to require, for its validity, that no consecration should afterwards have taken place, it is easier to suppose that St. Jerome's argument was inconclusive,[n] than that so extraordinary a custom could have existed in the church.

II. Eutychius of Alexandria, in his chronicle, says that the bishops of Alexandria were actually ordained by the presbyters, till the time of Alexander, who attended the synod of Nice.

Answer. Eutychius lived in the tenth century, too late to have any weight in such a question. His statement seems to be derived from that of Jerome, with abundant additions, and his accounts are to be rejected as altogether fabulous.[o]

III. Firmilian in a letter to Cyrian says, that in the church "preside presbyters (*majores natu*,) who have the power of baptizing, laying on hands, and ordaining."[p]

Answer. The bishops were often called presbyters. Tertullian says, "*Probati præsident seniores.*"

IV. Hilary the deacon, on Ephes. iv. 2, says, "in Egypt, even to this day, the presbyters ordain (*consignant*) in the bishop's absence." He also says on 1 Tim. iii. that "the ordination of bishop and presbyter is the same, for both are priests. But the bishop is first, so that every bishop is a presbyter, not every presbyter a bishop; for he is bishop who is first among the presbyters."

Answer. 1. The word "consignant" does not mean "or-

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[n] [Especially when the known carelessness (not to term it rashness) of Jerome in argument, is considered.]

[o] See Pearson, Vindiciæ Ignat. c. 10.

[p] Cyprian. Epist. 75. al. 43.

dain," but "confirm." This custom still remains in the east, and confirmation is usually called σφραγὶς or ἐπισφραγισμός.[q] 2. I have already observed that the opinion of this author as to ordinations is to be rejected.[r]

V. The general synod of Nice permitted the clergy appointed by Meletius the privilege of ordaining, and of naming those who were worthy of being ordained.[s]

Answer. The meaning of the word προχειρίζεσθαι is "electing" not ordaining. Besides, the synod is speaking of bishops, as well as of presbyters ordained by Meletius, so that if it meant to give them the right of ordination, this would of course be understood to relate to the bishops.

VI. Cassianus says that the monk Paphnutius, who was only a presbyter, ordained his disciple Daniel a deacon, and afterwards a presbyter.[t] Novatus, a presbyter, made Felicissimus a deacon, according to Cyprian.[u]

Answer. The meaning is, that Cassianus [*lege* Paphnutius] and Novatus caused them to be ordained by some bishop.

VII. The chorepiscopi, were only presbyters, and yet they ordained presbyters and deacons.

Answer. It has been shown by Bingham, Beveridge, and others,[v] that the chorepiscopi, or rural bishops, had episcopal consecration. These seem to be the principal instances adduced to favour presbyterian ordinations.

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[q] See Smith on the Greek Church, p. 116, 117.

[r] See above, p. 371.

[s] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 9.

[t] Cassian. Collat. iv. c. 1.

[u] Cyprian. Ep. xlix.

[v] Bingham, Antiquities book ii. c. 14. [Brett on Church Government, chap. xii. Brokesby's Primitive Church, chap. xiii.]

CHAPTER V.

ON THE NUMBER OF BISHOPS REQUISITE TO ORDAIN.

An important question has been raised, as to the number of bishops requisite to confer a valid episcopal ordination. Several theologians have been of opinion, that in case of necessity *one* bishop was sufficient for this purpose. Amongst the supporters of this opinion may be named Beveridge, Mason, Hallier, Paludanus, Sylvester, and others.[a] On the other hand, theologians of equal eminence have regarded such ordinations as uncertain or null. Honoratus Tournely, one of the principal theologians of the Gallican church in the last century, formally maintains the following conclusion: "In consecratione episcopi plures comministros episcopos adhibendos, esse, docet apostolica traditio ac constans praxis ecclesiæ; atque aliter quam a tribus vel duobus saltem factam ordinationem, non illicitam modo, sed etiam irritam ac nullam esse, probabilius videtur."[b] Tournely wrote when the question had been amply discussed, and his decision is the result of a careful investigation of all that had been said. He had been preceded in the same opinion by Pamelius, bishop of St. Omer,[c] and Habert, bishop of Vabres, who regards such ordinations as most dubious.[d] Hallier says, that in his time the common and most re-

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[a] [The opinion of Van Espen and other eminent canonists was formally given, to that effect, when consulted by the Jansenists in Holland who proceeded to act on it, in the consecration of an archbishop of Utrecht. Racine, Hist. Eccl. xiii. 596.]

[b] Tournely, Tractat. de Ordine, p. 453.

[c] Pamelius in Cypr. Epist. 68. "Accedere debebat consecratio . . . per episcopos qui convenerunt, quos, ut minimum, duos esse oportebat."

[d] "Circa hoc vero negotium, ancipitem profecto controversiam movere scholastici doctores . . . Utrum videlicet ordinatio et consecratio ab uno

ceived opinion was, that episcopal ordinations performed by less than three bishops, were null and void.[e] Vasquez held three bishops to be the ordinary ministers of consecration *jure divino*.[f] Bellarmine,[g] Kellison,[h] and others regard this number as essential: but are of opinion, as well as Vasquez, that a papal commission could empower *one* bishop to consecrate. This, however, seems to have arisen from their exaggerated notions of the papal power. Vasquez is even of opinion that a papal commission could enable a presbyter to ordain presbyters and deacons.[i] Alphonso de Ligorio observes, that the opposite opinions, as to a plurality of bishops being requisite (except in a case of necessity) to the validity of an episcopal consecration, are "both probable; therefore in practice, the first," (which maintains their necessity,) "is to be altogether followed . . . for since it is very probable . . . that the episcopate is a true sacrament, distinct from the presbyterate, we are certainly bound in the ordination of a bishop to take the *safer part*, to avoid a general injury; for otherwise priests ordained by this bishop would remain doubtfully ordained."[k]

The law and practice of the catholic church from the remot-

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tantum episcopo facta, quoad characterem ac ordinem ipsum qui de jure divino est, sit rata et valida."—Habertus, Liber Pontificalis, p. 80. ed. Paris, 1643. See also p. 83.

[e] "Incertum est et intra auctores catholicos controversum an consecratio episcopi omnino nulla, irrita, et invalida sit . . . quæ a paucioribus tribus episcopis peracta fuerit."—Hallier, De Sacris elect. et Ordin. p. 582. "Prior (sententia) communis est et hocce tempore magis recepta." p. 589.

[f] Vasquez, in iii. part. Thomæ, t. iii. disc. 243. cap. 6.

[g] Bellarminus, de Not. Eccl. c. 8.

[h] Kellison, Comm. in iii. par. Thomæ, t. ii. p. 428.

[i] Vasquez, ut supra, disp. 243, c. 4.

[k] "Utraque sententia est probabilis; unde in praxi omnino prima sequenda est. . . . Et ratio est, quia cum valde sit probabilis sententia (ut diximus, n. 738,) episcopatum esse verum sacramentum distinctum a presbyteratu, tenemur utique in ejus ordinatione tutiorem partem sequi ad vitandum damnum commune; nam alias sacerdotes ab hoc episcopo ordinati manerent dubie ordinati."—Ligorio, Theol. Mor. lib. iv. c. 2. art. 755.

est period are opposed to ordinations by one bishop only. It was decreed by the synods of Arles, Nice, Antioch, Laodicea, Carthage, Orange,[1] &c., that at least three bishops should consecrate. The œcumenical synod of Nice only allowed this number to be sufficient in a case of *urgent necessity*, but desired that all the bishops of the province should unite in the act. We find this custom in former ages. Cornelius of Rome, Cyprian, Novatus, Fortunatus, Sabinus, in the middle of the third century, were all ordained by several bishops. So also was the successor of Narcissus of Jerusalem at the end of the preceding century. Cyprian says that this meeting of bishops to perform episcopal ordinations, descended from divine tradition and apostolical practice. The apostolical canons which represent the discipline of the church in the second century, require the ordination of a bishop to be performed by two or three bishops, "so as that he cannot be ordained by one."[m] Clement of Alexandria says, that James was appointed bishop of Jerusalem by three of the apostles, Peter, James the elder, and John.[n] Hence we find Michael Oxita, patriarch of Constantinople, rejecting the ordinations of Clement and Leontius, who had been ordained by one bishop, contrary to the apostolical canon.[o]

In fact, if we look to scripture, we find that appointments to the highest offices of the sacred ministry were made by a plurality of persons. As our Lord had said, "if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in

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[1] Arelatens. i. c. 1. Arelat. ii. c. 5. Nicen. can. 1. Antioch. can. 19. Laodicen. can. 12. Codex African. can. 13, 14; Arausic. i. c. 21. See Beveridge, Annot. in Can. Apost. p. 11. Pandect. t. ii.

[m] Apost. can. i. Bev. Pand. t. i.

[n] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 1.

[o] Joh. Cinnamus, Hist. lib. ii. Bev. Pand. t. ii. Annot. p. 10.

the midst of them ;"[p] it might be fairly concluded, that in so important an act as that of sending forth a pastor into the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the pastors ought to be united. Accordingly, all the apostles were assembled and acted together in appointing Matthias to the bishopric of the traitor.[q] Paul and Barnabas were sent forth on their mission by the inspired "prophets and teachers" of Antioch.[r] Timothy was ordained by St. Paul and the presbytery :[s] and connecting these circumstances with the universal prevalence of the rule afterwards, which required bishops always to be ordained by more than one bishop, it does seem probable, that episcopal ordinations, which are only performed by one bishop, are not valid. On the other side are alleged some instances of a contrary practice in the church, which shall now be considered.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Paulinus bishop of Antioch, is said by Theodoret to have ordained his successor Evagrius : yet all the western church acknowledged the latter as bishop,[t] and Pope Innocentius even required Alexander of Antioch to receive in their honour and degrees, the clergy ordained by Evagrius.[u]

Answer. It is probable that Theodoret was misinformed, for Socrates, (v. 15), and Sozomen, (vii. 15), affirm, that Evagrius was ordained bishop after the death of Paulinus, and are silent as to the fact of his ordination by one bishop. The reason

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[p] Matt. xviii. 19, 20. [q] Acts i.

[r] Acts xiii. 1—3. [This, however, was no *ordination*. See note ([k]), p. 391.]

[s] 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. [What warrant is there for regarding the ordination here mentioned, as that to the highest office in the ministry ? — See ' Episcopacy Examined,' p. 190—196. 252.]

[t] Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 23.

[u] Innocent. I. Epist. xiv. ad Bonifacium. Hard. Conc. t. i. p. 1010.

which induced the eastern church not to acknowledge him or his clergy, did not arise from doubt as to the validity of his ordination, but from their regarding him as a schismatic, separated from Flavianus the legitimate bishop of Antioch.

II. Synesius says that Siderius was ordained by Philo of Cyrene alone, contrary to all the ancient laws; yet, since it is necessary in times of danger to dispense with the highest laws, Athanasius, in order to cherish and increase the spark of faith which remained in Ptolemais, raised him to govern that metropolitan church.[v]

Answer. I reply, that either S. Athanasius afterwards completed what was defective; or else he may have thought, that in a case of urgent necessity, where the preservation of the faith was at stake, God would supply what was deficient in the mode of vocation; or that the church could in such a case give a sufficient commission without reordination.

III. When S. Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to consult Gregory the Great, whether he might perform episcopal consecrations without the aid of other bishops, the latter replied "Quidem in Anglorum ecclesia in qua adhuc solus tu episcopus inveniris, ordinare episcopum non aliter nisi sine episopis potes."[w] Therefore, in case of necessity, ordination by one bishop is sufficient.

Answer. Habertus affirms that the reading in ancient manuscripts is this, "Et quidem in Anglorum ecclesia, &c. ordinare episcopum non aliter nisi cum episcopis potes. Nam quando de Gallia episcopi veniant, illi in ordinationen episcopi testes tibi assistent." This reading is supported by the edition of Bede, published in Paris, 1586, and it is to be supposed that Habertus had found it in ancient manuscripts.[x] It would be unsafe to rest a question of so much importance on a disputed

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[v] Synesius, Epist. lxvii. p. 210. ed. Petav.

[w] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 28.

[x] Habertus, Pontificale Græc. p. 83.

text. But even conceding that the passage as quoted is correct, Gregory may have proceeded on uncertain principles in affording this permission, as we believe he did mistake, in affirming that the apostles consecrated the eucharist with no other form but the Lord's prayer.

IV. In fact, it appears that Augustine acted on this permission, and ordained several bishops, such as Justus and Mellitus.

Answer. Even Hallier, who is favourable to the validity of such ordinations, is "unwilling to infer that Justus and Mellitus were ordained by Augustine alone," because though Bede mentions no other consecrators, it is customary with him only to mention the name of the metropolitan ordaining.[y] It is more probable that Augustine may have obtained the assistance of some of the French bishops. We find that afterwards they were so careful in England to observe the rule requiring more than one bishop to assist, that when there was only one bishop remaining in the Anglo-Saxon church before the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus, they called in the aid of two bishops of the British or Irish church which was viewed as schismatical, in order to consecrate Ceadda.[z] This they would scarcely have done if S. Augustine alone had consecrated several bishops. It appears probable also that Theodore of Tarsus *re-ordained* Ceadda,[a] thus affording an additional proof of the doctrine and practice of the church.

V. The apostles ordained bishops alone. *E. g.* St. Peter ordained Linus at Rome, St. Mark ordained Anianus at Alexandria.

Answer. We are not certain that these apostles and evangelists did, without any assistance, ordain bishops. However, I do not deny that the apostles might do so sometimes; but it does not follow that they intended the bishops in this respect to imitate their example.

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[y] Hallier, De Ordin. p. 588. [z] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 28.

[a] "Ordinationem ejus denuo catholica ratione consummavit." — Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 2.

CHAPTER VI.

ON REORDINATIONS.

I. It is unlawful to reiterate ordinations once validly performed in the catholic church, because such reordinations would throw doubt on the sufficiency of the former ordinations, every minister of Christ lawfully ordained being capable of administering sacerdotal offices in all churches where he is lawfully called to do so, though limited ordinarily to one by apostolical institution. Thus we read that Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, celebrated the eucharist in the church of Rome, when he travelled there to confer with Soter; [Anicetus;] and the canons of the catholic church approve of this practice, and sanction the translation of bishops (in cases of urgent necessity and benefit to the church) always without any reordination. The sixty-eighth apostolical canon exhibiting the early discipline of the East, forbids reordinations under pain of deposition both to the ordained and the ordainer, unless the former ordinations have been conferred by heretics.[a] The council of Carthage (canon 52) forbids rebaptizations or reordinations of bishops as it had been decreed in a synod at Capua:[b] which the learned canonists, Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, Zonaras, and Aristænus, understand only to refer to ordinations formerly conferred by the orthodox.[c] Pope

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[a] Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, δευτέραν χειροτονίαν δέξεται παρά τινος, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας· εἰ μήγε ἄρα συσταίη, ὅτι παρὰ αἱρετικῶν ἔχει τὴν χειροτονίαν. τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων βαπτισθέντας ἢ χειροτονηθέντας, οὔτε πιστοὺς οὔτε κληρικοὺς εἶναι δυνατόν.—Beveregii Pandect. t. i.

[b] Beveregii Pandect. t. i. p. 574. The question of reordinations is treated by Morinus. — Comment. de Sacr. Eccl. Ordin. pars iii. exercit. v. p. 74, &c.

[c] Beverege, ut supra, p. 514—6.

Gregory I. says, "that he who has been once ordained ought not again to be ordained to the same degree."[d] Provincial synods at Rome, and Ravenna also, under Pope John IX. forbad reordinations.[e] These are sufficient to show the general rule of the church as to the impropriety of reordaining those who have already received valid ordination in the catholic church; and indeed there is so little danger of such reordinations generally, that it does not seem that there is any severe penalty in the western churches provided for this offence. The sixty-eighth apostolical canon is only received by the eastern church as a rule; it is not found among the western canons; and Henriquez says, that "even if orders be unlawfully reiterated, the ordainer does not incur irregularity; because it is not expressed in the canon law."[f]

II. This general rule against reordinations does not apply in cases where ordinations have previously taken place in sects separated from the church. The catholic church is not bound to know anything of their ordinations, or to examine into the intricate questions which may surround them. She repudiates them in general as conferring no divine commission to minister in sacred things. "Them that are without, God judgeth:" but all the promises of God are to his church: His grace is given in the church: the apostles and teachers sent from God are in the church. We know nothing from revelation of any grace, any Christian ministry, any sacraments, or any salvation beyond the church.

The church is not bound to recognize the heretical ordinations of those who enter her communion: it has always been a matter of *special favour* to receive such orders, and ought only to be conceded for very urgent reasons. But if the usual form and

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[d] Gregor. Mag. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 46. ad Jo. Episc. Ravennat. t. ii. p. 608. Oper. ed. Ben.

[e] Morinus, p. 87.

[f] "Si quis tamen illicite iteraret, non fit irregularis . . quia non est in jure expressum."—Henriquez, Summa, lib. x. de Ord. Sacramento, c. 14.

minister of ordination appear to have been continued in sects, and thus the external part of ordination has been regularly observed, the church has the power of animating this dead form with the inward grace of the divine commission; or of removing the impediments which had prevented that grace from descending: for this case being not specially provided for by holy scripture, it is left in the power of the church, to which Jesus Christ himself said, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;" "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained." The more general custom of the church, however, appears to have been, to reordain those who had been ordained in open heresy or schism.

The sixty-eighth apostolical canon above referred to, and which is received as the law of the eastern church, permits ordination to be conferred on those who have only been ordained by heretics.

The synod of Saragossa decreed that presbyters who were converted from the Arian heresy to the holy catholic church, if of sound faith and chaste life, "should at length receive the benediction or ordination of priests, and minister in holiness and purity."[g] There is a reply of a patriarch of Constantinople to Martyrius, patriarch of Antioch, A. D. 460, stating that the practice of the church of Constantinople was to reordain those who had received ordination in heresy.[h] About 767, Constantine was schismatically elected bishop of Rome, being only a layman, and was consecrated after having suddenly received the orders of subdeacon and deacon. His successor, pope Stephen, convened a synod, to which the king of France, at his request, sent

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[g] "Placuit sanctæ et venerabili synodo, ut presbyteri qui ex hæresi Ariana ad sanctam catholicam ecclesiam conversi sunt, qui sanctam et puram fidem, atque castissimam tenuerint vitam, acceptam denuo benedictionem presbyterii sancte et pure ministrare debeant," &c.—Conc. Cæsar August. ii. c. 1. Morinus de Ordin. p. 97.

[h] Morinus, p. 98.

twelve learned bishops; and it was determined, that all the bishops, priests, and deacons ordained by Constantine should be reordained by pope Stephen, if again elected by their respective churches.[i] Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, reordained all those who had been ordained by Ebbo a former archbishop after he had been synodically deposed, and reduced to lay communion. This was approved by a great council of Gallican bishops, but was rejected by pope Adrian II. on appeal.[k] Formosus having been made bishop of Rome contrary to the canons, after he had been proved guilty of various crimes, and deposed; his successor, Stephen VI. reordained the clergy he had ordained.[l] The council of Constantinople against Photius, decreed, that having been schismatically ordained he was not a bishop.[m] On the other hand, Photius reordained those whom Ignatius his rival had ordained after his deposal.[n] Leo IX., according to Peter Damianus, reordained many who had been simoniacally ordained.[o] In the council of Quedlinburg under Gregory VII., the ordinations of Wecilo, Sigefrid, and Norbert, who had been ordained simoniacally and heretically, were judged to be entirely null according to the decrees of the holy fathers.[p] The nullity of such orders was also decreed in the synod of Placentia, under Urban II., who reordained a deacon ordained by Nezilo, a simoniacally consecrated bishop.[q] Lucius III. reordained the clergy of Octavian and other antipopes.[r] Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, in his reply to Marcus of Alexandria, said that heretical bishops if converted, and of approved life, should ascend by the accustomed degrees to the episcopal office.[s] He also denies the validity of heretical orders in his commentary on the apostolic canons, as do also Zonaras and Aristænus.[t]

It is evident that all these instances concur to establish one

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[i] Morinus, p. 91. [k] Ibid. p. 88. [l] Ibid. p. 85. [m] Ibid. p. 93.
[n] Courayer, Dissertation sur la Validité des Ord. Angl. t. ii. p. 109.
[o] Morinus, ut supra, p. 81. [p] Ibid. [q] Ibid. p. 79—81.
[r] Ibid. p. 76. [s] Ibid. p. 98.
[t] In Canon Apost. lxviii.—Beveregii Pandect. t. i.

leading principle, that the church is not bound to recognize orders conferred in open heresy or schism; and that reordinations in such cases are not forbidden.[u] In several of the above instances indeed, the principle was stretched beyond its legitimate limits; but this does not affect the general tendency of the whole, and it is impossible to explain away these numerous reordinations, into mere rehabilitations or licenses for exercising orders.[v]

III. The rule against reordinations does not apply where there are uncertainties and doubts affecting the validity of an ordination. A council held in the time of Pepin, king of France, decreed, that "ordinations of presbyters should not be made by certain vagrant bishops: but if those presbyters were good men they should be consecrated again."[w] The synod of Cabilon says, "There are in certain places Scoti who say that

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[u] [This may be assented to, on the principle maintained in the next section—that a repetition of the *form* may take place, in a case of doubt, without implying the repetition of the *thing*. If the divine commission has been given and received, it can sustain no let or diminution by the re-administration of the form; and where such re-administration is performed in serious doubt whether the commission have been previously imparted, and in no presumptuous impeachment of the commission itself, there can be no criminality nor danger. The question whether "orders," i. e. the divine commissions exist or not, does not depend upon the decision of the church: that decision can only go to the probability of the fact. Whether the church will, or will not "recognize orders" under certain circumstances, is another question, to be settled (1) by the previous decision as to the probability of their existence; (2) by the determination of the fitness of provision against the probability, greater or less, that they do not exist. Where there is such probability in the smallest degree, the decision to reordain is within the province of the church.]

[v] [If the *form* is meant, the assertion is granted: something more was *done* than merely rehabilitate a lapsed commission, or license to jurisdiction on the presumption of existing orders. But if the *effect* is in question, the author answers himself in the next section, where he adopts the maxim, "non est iteratum," &c. and the wise dictum of Leo.]

[w] Hallier, De Sacr. Elect. et Ordin. p. 828.

they are bishops, and who ordain many negligent persons without permission of their lords or masters, whose ordination, because for the most part it is involved in the heresy of simony, and is liable to many errors, we have with one consent decreed by all means to be anulled."[x] The observations of Morinus are worthy of remark. "We must," he says, "distinguish between a certain and a dubious administration of this sacrament. A custom formerly prevailed in the church, which continued for nearly twelve hundred years, that in case any doubt arose in the ministration of the sacrament, it was forthwith ministered again unconditionally, whether the doubt affected the whole sacrament, as when it was doubted whether any one was baptized or ordained; or related only to a circumstance of the sacrament already administered. For the axiom was most commonly adopted, 'Non est iteratum, quod certis indiciis antea non ostenditur peractum.' For sacraments are of such great moment, especially those which are conferred but once, that when there is any probable doubt that they have not been validly received or delivered, they ought certainly to be conferred again without scruple, lest through our hesitation any soul which Christ redeemed should perish. . . . The crime of reordination is in no degree to be dreaded in this case, since, as St. Leo says, 'the temerity of presumption does not intervene where the carefulness of piety exists.' The same custom continues even now, but that repetition which was formerly absolute, is now usually performed *conditionally*."[y] Of this we have examples in the case of the bishops of Seez and Avellino, mentioned by Le Quien. Du Moulinet, bishop of Seez, was for nearly thirty-six years in the habit of giving the gospel, chalice, paten, bread and wine, to the priests and deacons whom he ordained, by the hands of his assistant priests, and not with his own. These ceremonies did not affect the

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[x] Ibid. p. 829.

[y] Morinus de Ordin. p. 109.

essence of ordination; nevertheless, doubts and questions having arisen after his death as to the validity of these orders, pope Clement VII., in 1604, ordered the priests and deacons thus ordained, to be reordained privately and with a condition, which was accordingly done.[z] In 1696, a similar decree was made by the pope and the 'congregation of the holy office,' in the case of Monsignor Scanagata, bishop of Avellino, who presented the instruments by means of his master of ceremonies.[a] "On voit," says Le Quien, "par ces exemples, et par d'autres semblables qu'on pourroit ramasser, que sans s'arrêter aux sentimens des théologiens, en fait de doute sur la validité d'une ordination, on prendra toûjours dans l'église le parti le plus sûr; et ce patri est celui d'ordonner de nouveau sous condition."[b]

IV. The customs of the church of England prevent reordinations, where the previous ordination has been performed in the church; and her law, contained in the Preface to the Ordination Service, excepts from the necessity of ordination according to that form, such persons as have formerly received "episcopal ordination," which was probably meant to include those who had formerly been ordained in these churches under a different rite: and we may reasonably suppose that it was designed to include those who might receive episcopal ordination in other catholic churches. By this, however, was not meant *any* episcopal ordination, (such as that conferred by the bishops of Denmark, or of the Methodists, or Moravians,[c] who have probably no valid orders whatever), but a *valid* episcopal ordination, conferred with a sufficient imposition of hands and

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[z] Le Quien, Nullité des ord. Angl. t. ii. p. 388, &c.

[a] Ibid. p. 393, &c. [b] Ibid. p. 394.

[c] [With regard to the Moravians, it is but fair to state that there is difference of opinion. Their title to the succession is involved in great difficulties, and, at best, can hardly be called safe: yet the efforts of some very learned antagonists have as yet afforded no positive disproof; and the presumption is, of course, in its favour until proved a forgery.]

prayer; and by a bishop whose own ordination is in no degree doubtful. It has even been the custom not to reordain priests ordained among the papists in England and Ireland, on their conversion to the church: but it may be reasonably doubted whether this was intended by those who drew up the preface to our Ordinal: such a case not having then arisen. However, as I have said, the church was authorized to confirm these ordinations, though not bound to do so.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE SUBJECTS OF ORDINATION.

Of impediments to ordination on the part of the recipient, some only render it irregular, others perhaps render it null.

I. Those who are manifestly devoid of the qualifications required by the apostles and the church in the ministers of religion, are styled irregular; and this incapacity applies to the following cases. (1) Those persons who have been guilty of some crime or offence injuring their fame, voluntary homicides, simoniacs, incendiaries of churches, diviners, public penitents, &c. For "a bishop must be blameless;" must "have a good report of them that are without." "A deacon must be blameless."[a] (2) Illiterate persons: for a bishop must be "apt to teach;" holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience.[b] (3) Neophytes ordained immediately after baptism, or before the canonical age, or ordained *per saltum*, or without examination. "Lay hands suddenly on no man:"[c] "Not a novice."[d] (4) Heretics, excommunicated, schismatics, and all ordained by such. (5) Those deficient in mind or body, as lunatics, demoniacs, confirmed epileptics, those mutilated by their own will, or of monstrous form, or devoid of bodily organs essential to the ministry. (6) Those under the command of others, and unable to give themselves to the ministry, as civil officers, soldiers, slaves, &c. while they remain such. (7) Those ordained by a bishop who has no right to ordain them, or by a bishop who has resigned or been deprived. (8) Those whose wives are of an evil character.[e] There are other cases of irregularity which do not apply to our present discipline; but these are the principal impedi-

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[a] 1 Tim. iii. 2. 7. 10. [b] Ibid. 2. 9. [c] Ibid. v. 22.
[d] Ibid. iii. 16. [e] 1 Tim. iii. 11.

ments which prevent those who labour under them from being ordained canonically, or render them irregular.

II. We now proceed to consider the cases in which it may be disputed whether ordination is not null and void.

1. Is ordination null when conferred on a person unbaptized?

This is a question of great difficulty, and much may be alleged on both sides. It was certainly the will of our Saviour that those who believed should be baptized. It is equally obvious, that none except believers were qualified to be his ministers, and as St. Paul forbad even those newly baptized to be ordained, how much more would he have prohibited those who were not yet engrafted into the church by baptism. But on the other hand, if some person ordained in the church, is afterwards discovered by himself and others not to have been baptized, is his ordination to be accounted null and void? It is generally admitted, that in a case of necessity, a sincere wish to receive the sacraments, together with the true faith, is sufficient to produce the effect of those sacraments.[f] And on the same principle it might seem, that one unbaptized, though ignorant of the fact, would not be less perfectly [?] a disciple of Christ than those baptized, and therefore not less qualified for ordination, provided that he were in all other respects a Christian. To this it may be added, that in the supposed case, the person unbaptized would have been admitted frequently to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ in the eucharist; and this might furnish another probability, that he was invested with the privileges of those initiated by the sacrament of regeneration. Dionysius of Alexandria was afraid to baptize a man who had only heretical baptism, but who had often partaken of the eucharist.[g] It seems

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[f] [That is, it is *hoped* that the effect is produced; it is charitably *trusted* that in the sight of God the want of the external means will not be held essential. Can any thing more be affirmed? Is there any *divine warrant*, entitling us to pronounce in such a case of necessity.]

[g] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 9.

from this probable, I think, that such an ordination is not null.[h] But piety would enjoin the reception of baptism privately; and if the case were publicly known and caused scandal, it would be adviseable to reordain conditionally.

2. Are ordinations conferred "*per saltum*," passing over the intermediate orders, null?

The practice of the church in primitive times is in favour of their validity. Even in the particular church of Rome, the bishops seem frequently to have been elected from among the deacons, and ordained *per saltum*.[i] The principle on which this is justified is, that the episcopate comprises virtually all

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[h] [The question discussed lies deeper than the author has seen fit to go. Granting that none but believers can be ministers, and granting that the Saviour's will is clear that believers shall be baptized, and that St. Paul would certainly have prohibited the admission of an unbaptized believer to the ministry; does it follow that such a person (suppose him by any chance once in orders) choosing to remain in the ministry, in known contrariety to the Saviour's will, is therefore not a minister, notwithstanding a regular and valid ordination? It must be the disobedience that would vitiate the orders, in that case. Is not that supposition the error condemned in the 26th article? Is not even the (post facto) requisition of belief, a branch of the same error? How can man be *sure* that any ordained man *is* a believer? Is it not too probable that some in holy orders have been *un*believers? Were their orders thereby vitiated? At bottom, the question is, Is the validity of the ministerial commission (once duly conveyed) affected by the personal character and condition of the bearer? so that his acts, so long as he is permitted to retain the commission, are thereby made invalid? Whether a man having no interest in the covenant of redemption through Christ ought *to be made* a minister to extend its benefits to others, or *to be allowed to continue* the exercise of such ministry, are entirely distinct points of inquiry. They equally affect the case of the unbelieving and ungodly minister with that of the unbaptized. Of all, it is confessed that they ought not knowingly to be ordained, nor to be suffered to continue in the discharge of the ministry. But of the two first, their want of personal interest in the covenant of salvation is held to be no bar to their instrumentality in the transmission of its benefits to others. Why should that of the third be more so?]

[i] See Courayer, Défense de la Dissertation, liv. iv. c. x.

other orders in itself. Even on the supposition that the episcopate is an extension of the presbyterate, or rather a jurisdiction than a new order, still in conferring it, the presbyterate is included, because the latter is essential to the former. Such seems to be the more probable opinion, though many theologians have held that the episcopate conferred *per saltum* is invalid. This was generally the doctrine of the schoolmen: it was maintained afterwards by Mason[k] and Field,[l] and by Bellarmine,[m] Vasquez,[n] Gamache,[o] Kellison,[p] Hallier,[q] &c. These writers speak as if there was no doubt on the subject, and as if all theologians admitted their doctrine. No one, however, disputes that according to the canons, sacred orders should be conferred only gradually, and with the usual intervals.

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[k] Mason, De Min. Angl. Dedicatio ad Ep. Paris.

[l] Field, Of the Church, book i. c. 39.

[m] Bellarmin. De Sacr. Ordinis, lib. i. c. 5.

[n] Vasquez, in iii. part. S. Thomæ, p. 738. 771. ed. 1614. He says of this doctrine, "hoc indubitatum esse video apud omnes."

[o] Gamachæus, Summa Theologica, t. ii. p. 683.

[p] Kellison, Comment. in iii. part. S. Thomæ, t. ii. p. 398.

[q] Hallier, De Ordin. p. 392, ed. 1636.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE SACRAMENT OF ORDINATION.

We are first to consider what is the essential form or rite of ordination; secondly, how far this rite may be lawfully regarded as a sacrament.

I. It has been elsewhere[a] shown from the scriptures, the councils, the doctrine of the reformation, &c. that the imposition of hands and prayer are the only essential rites of ordination. No other rites are mentioned in Scripture at the ordination of the ministers of Jesus Christ, and therefore it may be reasonably concluded that these alone are essential. This is confirmed by the ancient ordinals of the church; for Morinus and others have shown, that they do not comprise the forms of delivering the instruments, which many of the schoolmen regarded as the essential rite of ordination, but only the laying on of hands and prayer.

II. The rite of ordination is not "a sacrament of the gospel,"[c] nor is it one of those "generally necessary to salvation;"[d] but since "the common description of a sacrament" is, "that it is a visible sign of an invisible grace;" and since "in a general acceptation the name of a sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby a holy thing is signified;"[e] since God "of His divine providence hath appointed divers orders in His

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[a] Part I. chapter viii.

[b] Morinus de Ordin. pars iii. exerc. ii. c. 1. observes that the ancient rite of laying the Gospel on the head of the bishop, was not practised at Alexandria, nor in some churches of Gaul and Germany, and probably not in the Roman church originally.

[c] Article XXV. [d] Catechism.

[e] Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments.

church ;"[f] since those who are ordained bishops and presbyters, are "by the Holy Ghost made overseers to feed the church of God :"[g] since God himself gives to us such "pastors and teachers ;"[h] since it is evident that the divine grace promotes those who are duly ordained to the office of the ministry ; and since this divine grace or commission is believed to be only given perfectly to those lawfully ordained, when they are actually ordained ; the rite of ordination is "a visible sign of an invisible grace," and thus may reasonably be considered as a sacrament of the church. In fact the homilies of the church of England style it a sacrament, even while establishing a distinction between it and the two great sacraments of the gospel. "Though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign or promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as *all other sacraments* besides the two above named do. Therefore, neither it, nor *any sacrament else*, be such sacraments as baptism and the communion are."[i] Jerome, Augustine, Leo, Gregory, &c. style it a sacrament,[k] Calvin also regards it as a sacrament.[l] The apology of the confession of Augsburg says that if "order be understood of the ministry of the word, we should without scruple have called it a sacrament. For the ministry of the word hath the commandment of God, and possesses glorious promises. If order be thus understood, we should not object to call the imposition of hands a sacrament."[m] The learned archdeacon Mason regarded order as in a certain sense a sacrament.

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[f] Collect for Ember days.

[g] Acts xx. 28. [h] Ephes. iv. 11.

[i] Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

[k] Hieron. lib. cont. Vigilant. p. 281 ; Augustin. lib. ii. cont. Parmen. c. xiii. t. ix. p. 45; Leo, Epist. xi. al. lxxxi. ad Dioscorum, c. i. t. i. p. 436; Gregor. Mag. lib. iv. in Libr. Regum, c. v. t. iii. p. 228.

[l] "Superest impositio manuum, quam ut in veris legitimisque ordinationibus sacramentum esse concedo, ita nego locum habere in hac fabula."—Inst. lib. iv. c. xix. art. 31.

[m] Apologia Confess. VII. De numero et usu sacrament.

[n] "Si Sacramenti vocabulum ad quodvis externum signum a Deo insti-

As bishop Taylor says, "it is none of the doctrine of the church of England that there are two sacraments only; but that of those rituals commanded in scripture, which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments (by a word of art,) two only are generally necessary to salvation."[o] Archbishop Secker says, "as the word sacrament is not a scripture one, and hath at different times been differently understood; our catechism doth not require it to be said absolutely, that the sacraments are *two only;* but *two only necessary to salvation:* leaving persons at liberty to comprehend more things under the name if they please, provided they insist not on the necessity of them, and of dignifying them with this title."[p] And accordingly, we find the homilies speaking of the sacrament of matrimony,"[q] and acknowledging several other sacraments besides those of baptism and the eucharist.[r] Cranmer, in his catechism, considers absolution a sacrament.[s] The confession of Augsburg and its Apology, hold the same view,[t] and the latter adds matrimony.[u] In short, it is plain that the reformation, in avoiding the error of arbitrarily defining the doctrine of *seven* sacraments, did not fall into the mistake of limiting the use of this term to *two* rites only, which would have ill accorded with the ancient custom of the church generally.

If it be objected that Romanists have abused the term sacrament as applied to ordination, and therefore that we ought not to employ it, I reply with Cyprian, "Quid ergo? quia et hono-

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tutum, cui divinæ gratiæ promissio annectitur, extendamus, sacrum ordinem dici posse una cum Sancto Augustino et aliis agnoscimus."—Mason, De Min. Angl. p. 48. ed. 1638.

[o] Taylor's Dissuasive, p. 240. ed. Cardwell.

[p] Secker's Lectures, xxxv. Of Baptism.

[q] Sermon on Swearing, part i.

[r] On Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i. See above, Vol. I. p. 510.

[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 131.

[t] Confess. August. Art. 11, 12. 22. Apol. Confess. cap. de num. et usu Sacr. ad art. 13. [u] Ibid.

rem cathedræ sacerdotalis Novatianus usurpat, num idcirco nos cathedræ renunciare debemus? Aut quia Novatianus altare collocare, et sacrificia offerre contra jus nititur; ab altari et sacrificiis cessare nos oportet, ne paria et similia cum illo celebrare videamur?"[v]

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[v] Cypr. Epist. ad Jubaian. de Hæret. rebapt.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

This subject involves two questions: first, the authority by which the law of celibacy was instituted; secondly, the extent of its obligation.

I. It is conceded generally by Roman theologians, that the law of celibacy was not of divine but of ecclesiastical institution.[a] The western churches, actuated by a pure and laudable desire that the ministers of Jesus Christ should "give themselves *wholly*" to their sacred office, required that none of their clergy should be engaged in the cares of the married state. This regulation was made by many councils in the fourth and following centuries, at Eliberis, Carthage, Toledo, Turin, Orange, Tours, &c., and by Siricius and other bishops of Rome.[b] The eastern churches have always permitted priests and deacons to continue in the married state even to the present day, though they prohibit marriage after ordination, and enjoined celibacy on bishops in the council in Trullo, A. D. 692[c]

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[a] Field, Of the Church, b. v. c. 57. "Communis theologorum, quos longo ordine appellat Vasquez in tertiam partem disput. 248. c. 3. opinio, existimat lege dumtaxat ecclesiastica injunctam esse majoribus clericis perpetuam continentiam." Tournely, De Sacr. Ordinis, p. 676. "Quæritur I. An hæc obligatio cœlibatus sit de jure divino, ita ut Papa nequeat in ea dispensare. . . . Dicendum cum communi doctorum (præciso voto), non esse de jure divino, sed tantum ecclesiastico, quod ministri ordinati in sacris obligentur ad castitatem."—A. M. De Ligorio, Theologia Moralis, lib. vi. tract. v. art. 807.

[b] Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. t. i. lib. ii. c. 61. Tournely, De Ordin. p. 656, &c.

[c] Ibid. c. 60. 63. Smith on the Greek Church, p. 91. The Greek custom of allowing married clergy has never formed any obstacle to their union with the Roman church.—Tournely, De Ordin. p. 649.

[c] Ibid. 61. n. 2. Tournely, De Ordin. p. 665.

From these facts it is plain, that the celibacy of the clergy was not imposed by any law of the *universal* church, and therefore that it may be lawfully dispensed with by particular churches.

II. The western churches did not exceed their power in requiring their ministers to observe celibacy; for in case of marriage they only deprived them of the ministry, but did not declare their marriage invalid, or resort to any means of dissolving it. If any one undertook the sacred office, he knew the conditions on which it was given, and if he transgressed them he merely lost his ministry. This did not impose an unlawful burden on the conscience The injunction and admonition of holy scripture, Διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω,[d] and κρεῖσσον γάρ ἐστι γαμῆσαι, ἢ πυροῦσθαι,[e] might still be followed.

But in later ages, when the discipline of the western churches relaxed, and married clergy were found in numbers in Germany, England, Sweden, &c.; Gregory the seventh, and the following bishops of Rome, enforced again the celibacy of the clergy by regulations of an unjustifiable severity; for under their direction, the councils of Rheims and Lateran in 1148 and 1176,[f] decreed that married clergy should be separated by force from their wives, and that such marriages should be held null and void.[g] In addition to this, severe penalties were imposed by law on those who transgressed this regulation. These proceedings were founded on the mistaken opinion held by many in those ages, that the celibacy of the clergy was enjoined by God, and that their marriage was consequently a sin.

If, under these circumstances, men, through a mistaken confidence in their own gifts, or of the aid of divine grace, undertook the office of the ministry, and discovered afterwards their

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[d] 1 Cor. vii. 2. [e] Verse 9.

[f] [2 Conc. Lateran. can. 7. anno 1139. sub Innocentio II.—Conc. Rhemens. can. 7. anno 1148. sub Eugenio III.]

[g] Thomassin. t. i. lib. ii. c. 64, 65.

error, they could not be bound in conscience by these laws introduced by the Roman pontiffs; because the superior law of scripture already adverted to, dissolved their obligation; and since the severity of the existing Roman laws refused to tolerate marriages, which in such cases were sanctioned by scripture itself, those clergy who adopted so justifiable a proceeding, were most fully entitled not to publish circumstances which might deprive them of their Christian liberty and privilege. Had the penalties against the marriage of clergy merely amounted to deposition from the ministry, those marriages ought to have been avowed and the penalty incurred; but when the penalties amounted to annulling their marriages and separation, under pain of excommunication and even death,[h] the case was totally different. I admit that no good man ought to have undertaken the ministry under such circumstances, unless persuaded of his fitness through divine grace, to fulfil its conditions; but if he found himself mistaken, he could not be bound to risk his salvation in the attempt.

III. It may be alleged that, at all events, the marriage of clergy *after ordination*, is generally prohibited by the ancient canons, and therefore that it can never be lawful.

I reply, that this prohibition was merely founded on prudential motives; and that the universal church did not really believe that marriage after ordination was more to be condemned than *continuance* in the married state contracted previously. The council of Ancyra gave permission to deacons to marry afterwards, if at the time of receiving orders they professed their intention of so doing.[i] The western church forbad the married state *equally*, and with the same penalties, whether contracted before or after ordination.[k] Their objection was

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[h] The Confession of Augsburg complains: "nunc capitalibus pœnis excruciantur et quidem sacerdotes contra canonum voluntatem, nullam aliam ob causam, nisi propter conjugium."—Pars. ii. art. 2.

[i] Concil. Ancyr. can. x.

[k] "In occidente non magni pendebant, ante vel post ordinationem ini-

not to the time at which it was contracted, but to the state itself. Therefore since the eastern church held that there was nothing unlawful in continuing in the state of matrimony after ordination, while the western held that there was no greater fault in *contracting* marriage after ordination, we may fairly draw the conclusion, that the universal church never condemned marriage after ordination.

IV. The case of second marriages comes next under our consideration. According to the ancient canons, a "digamus," or one who had married twice after baptism, could not be ordained:[l] but this arose from the opinion very common in those ages, that second marriages were inconsistent with Christian perfection. By the canons, those of the laity who married twice were subjected to penance; and the clergy were forbidden to attend at their wedding feasts.[m] S. Jerome remarks that even the pagan priests were not permitted to marry a second time.[n] Therefore, it appears that in those ages second marriages caused scandal: but such opinions having become obsolete in the universal church many ages since, it does not seem that there can be any necessity for adhering to a discipline, the reason of which has ceased. And with regard to second marriages, even after ordination, the same reasons which would justify one marriage, would justify a second.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The purity and sanctity of the Christian sacraments require holy ministers. The greatness of the ministerial office requires the whole man, as the apostle says, "No man that warreth en-

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tum fuisset conjugium; perinde uxoribus abstinere majores clerici cogebantur." Thomass. t. i. lib. ii. c. 61. n. 2. See also c. 62. n. 2.

[l] Canon iv. Apostol. iv. Carthag. c. 69. On this subject see Field, Of the Church, b. v. c. 58.

[m] Neocæsarea, c. 7. Laodicen. 1. Ancyr

[n] Hieronymus, lib. i. adv. Jovinian.

tangleth himself with the things of this life."[o] The faithful married may remain apart "with consent for a time, to give themselves to prayer and fasting."[p] Therefore, the ministers of Christ, who are to be always engaged in prayer, ought to remain in celibacy. If the priests of the Old Testament were required to be abstinent during their ministration, how much more ought the priests of the New Law, who are always ministering at the sacred altar. Since Christ was born of a virgin mother, and was himself unmarried, it is fit that those by whom his body is handled in the eucharist should be perpetually abstinent.

Answer. One reply is sufficient for all these arguments. The presbyters of the eastern churches, who are equally ministers of the sacraments, and no less honoured with the sacerdotal office than the Latins, have always, from the beginning, with the approbation of the whole catholic church, lived in the state of matrimony.

II. God will not fail to bestow His gifts on those who call on Him aright. "He will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that they may be able to bear it."[q]

Answer. God having left men free, and allowed the remedy of marriage, He cannot reasonably be expected to give other assistance. Therefore, to maintain that those priests who, through a venial error, have subjected themselves to this difficulty, have no resource except in prayer to God, and fasting,[r] &c., is to afford them no sufficient remedy.

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[o] 2 Tim. ii. 4. [p] 1 Cor. vii. 5. [q] 1 Cor. x. 13.

[r] The remedies recommended by Eusebius Amort, are prayer, mortification, caution, &c. Amongst mortifications, he includes, "ciliciorum aliquoties per hebdomadam usus; flagellationes in tempore fortioris tentationis aut lapsus; cubatio in sacco stramineo, vel assere; somni ad sex aut septem horas limitatio; extensis brachiis oratio; recreationum alias acceptarum v. g. lusus, epulationis, confabulationis, &c. devitatio; ceræ liquefactæ in partem aliquam corporis affusio gustata; candelæ ardentis approximatio dolorifica; in hyeme, palmarum ad gelida corpora, v. g. murum, ferrum, marmora, nives, aquas frigidas, diuturna applicatio, præsertim in actuali

III. A vow of celibacy was taken by every person who received sacred orders in the Latin church; therefore, those who married after ordination were perjured.

Answer. In England, at least, there was no such promise of celibacy as there may have been elsewhere :[s] but it is disputed even now among Roman theologians whether there is any obligation to celibacy from any vow. Ligorio says, "An hæc obligatio sit immediate ex præcepto ecclesiæ, vel mediate per votum ordinatorum? Utraque est probabilis ex eodem cap. 9, Trident. Prima sententia, quam tenent Mastrius, Bosco, Herinx, &c. apud Holzmann, p. 268, n. 103, ac Scotus, Palaus, Valent. et Aversa, apud Salmant. cap. 6, n. 28, (qui cum Sanchez merito probabilem putant) dicit, quod non ex voto, sed ex sola ecclesiæ lege ordinati in sacris teneantur ad castitatem."[t]

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effervescentia carnis; pedibus itineratio molesta; frigoris vel æstus molesta perpessio; per labores fatigatio, v. g. per scriptionem, instructionem, opera manualia, &c."—Theologia Eclect. Mor. et Schol. t. xviii. p. 177. It is not every one that could maintain this sort of mortification continually.

[s] Burnet, Reformation, t. ii. p. 170. ed. 1816.

[t] Ligorio, Theologia Moralis, lib. vi. tract. v. art. 808.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE VALIDITY OF THE ENGLISH ORDINATIONS.

Amongst the various deceptive arguments by which the ministers of the Romish schism have endeavoured to pervert the weak from the communion of the church, there is not one which has been urged with such unwearied assiduity, art, and audacity, as that which affects the validity of the English ordinations. It has been since the origin of the schism, the most popular of their devices to represent the uncertainty of our ministry, as contrasted with the assumed certainty of their own, and thence to argue the necessity of taking the "safer" side. Thus Lewgar, in the preface of his book, entitled "Erastus Senior," says, "the intent of this treatise is only of my charity to my friends and countrymen of the Protestant profession, to show them this great defect in their church, the want of bishops, thereby to invite them into ours, which (even by the confession of her adversaries) wants them not. And the intent of this preface is only to note to them the greatness of this defect in their church from the hideous consequences of it;" which he concludes to be, amongst other things, that the church of England is no true church; that salvation cannot be had in it; that its members can have no saving faith; that the clergy cannot administer the sacraments, &c.; and that whenever they attempt to do so, they and their people are involved in sacrilege. Dr. Humphrey Prideaux says, that in the time of James II. the Romish emissaries made use of scarcely any other arguments :[a] and Père Le Quien discloses the annoyance

[a] Prideaux, Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, 1688. Preface. Amongst the principal works on the validity of the English ordinations, are Mason, De Ministerio Angl., the works of Bramhall and

which was felt at Courayer's writing in defence of our orders, interposing "an obstacle to the conversion of many English, on whom the defect of succession in their prelates makes its due impression, in leading them to renounce schism and heresy, and place themselves under the legitimate direction and authority of the pastors of the catholic church."[b] According to him, M. Le Courayer "ought himself to have feared this inconvenience, which might render him responsible before God for the loss of those whose conversion has been arrested by his book." The "Protestants," he says, "are enchanted that a priest of the catholic church should thwart the success of the zeal of our missionaries. There are in Paris a good number of catholics of the English nation, able and judicious men, who would have better advised him,"[c] &c.

Courayer's works, notwithstanding the obloquy which their author endured, could not fail to make a great impression, even on Romanists; and we do not often see the old fabrications of the Nag's Head Ordination, and such other tales, now advanced. Indeed, the ground of *invalidity*, except on certain questions affecting the *form* of our ordinations, seems little resorted to by writers of respectability; and the chief objections are deduced from supposed schism and breach of the canons.

The objections against the validity of the English ordinations have been almost exclusively devised and employed by the Romanists of England and Ireland; who having revolted from their own churches, resorted to every imaginable expedient to establish their new community, *per fas et nefas*, on the ruins of the church of Christ. The *churches* of the Roman communion were in part deceived by the artifices and falsehoods of these men; but notwithstanding the errors and preju-

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Burnet on English ordinations, and especially M. Courayer's Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordin. Angl.; his Défense de la Dissertation, and Supplement; Bishop Elrington's Validity of English Ordinations.

[b] Le Quien, Nullité des Ord. Angl. pref. p. lxiii.

[c] Ibid. p. lxv.

dice which they created, many theologians of that communion were fully persuaded that our ordinations were valid.

The judgment of one man, whom, notwithstanding some faults, and some injustice to the church of England, we cannot but acknowledge to have been a great and illustrious prelate, Bossuet, is in itself worth that of a host of minor theologians. He wrote to the learned Benedictine, Mabillon, in 1685, in the following terms: "As to the affair of England, besides the difficulty of the first bishops, authors of the schism, there is another considerable difficulty concerning the time of Cromwell, when it is pretended that the succession was interrupted. The English maintain that it was not: and as for the succession at the beginning of the schism, they maintain that there is no difficulty *then*, and it seems that in this they are right."[d] And his opinion continued to be the same afterwards, for M. Riberolles, abbot of St. Geneviève, has given his solemn attestation, that about 1690, on occasion of the conversion of M. Papin, who had received English ordination, the judgment of this learned prelate was, "that if they could well prove that the succession of the episcopate had been continued under Cromwell, and not interrupted, (a fact which he then doubted), their ordinations were valid; and that in case of the reunion of that church to the catholic church, their bishops, priests, and deacons would not have need of reordination; adding, in addressing himself to me, that the succession being supposed, the Sieur Papin was as validly a priest as myself, and their bishops as validly bishops as he was. In a word, this prelate never made the question of the validity of their ordinations depend on any thing, but the proof of the succession in the time of Cromwell."[e] We have further the attestation of M. Caldaguez, precentor of Montferrand, that in 1699 Bossuet said in his presence, "that if God should give grace to the English to renounce their errors and their schism, their clergy would

[d] Courayer, Dissert. sur la Valid. des Ord. Angl.—Preuves Justif. art. i.

[e] Courayer, Défense de la Dissert. Preuves Justif. § 1.

need nothing except to be reconciled to the church and rehabilitated; and he added, that he had expressed himself in this manner before the king."[f] It is therefore in vain that Père Le Quien[g] adduces his answer to M. Le Grand, who asked his opinion, whether, in writing against Burnet, he should style him bishop of Salisbury. "We know not that bishopric," said Bossuet: not denying the validity of the English orders, but not acknowledging the bishop of Salisbury as of the Roman communion.

The testimony of Petrus Valesius, or Walsh, a learned Franciscan, is also of value from the strength of its tone, and its allusion to the opinions of others in the Roman communion. "Were I to deliver my opinion of that matter," he says, "or were it to my purpose to speak thereof, I would certainly hold myself obliged in conscience (for any thing I know yet) to *concur with them who doubt not* the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons in the Protestant church of England to be (at least) *valid*. And yet I have read whatever hath been to the contrary objected by the Roman catholic writers, whether against the matter, or form, or want of power in the first consecrators, by reason of their schism or heresy, or of their being deposed from their former sees, &c. But I have withal observed *nothing of truth* alleged by the objectors, which might in the least persuade any man who is acquainted with the known divinity or doctrine of our present schools, (besides what Ricardus Armachanus long since writ,) and with the annals of our own Roman church, unless peradventure he would turn so frantic at the same time as to question even the validity of our own ordination also in the said Roman church."[h]

Besides this, we have the testimonies of many other Roman-

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[f] Ibid. § 2.

[g] Le Quien, Null. des Ord. Angl. t. ii. p. 319.

[h] History of Irish Remonstrance, p. xlii.

ists, such as Cudsemius,[i] Davenport á S. Clara, a learned Benedictine; even of many of the doctors of the Sorbonne in the case of Dr. Gough, of M. Arnaud, M. Snellaërts, professor at Louvaine, the learned abbé de Longuerue, Le Courayer himself,[k] &c.

And even those who reordain clergy who have received orders in our churches, do not appear to be actuated by any real doubts as to the validity of our orders, but probably proceed on two principles; first, that sustained by Morinus, namely that orders given in schism or heresy (such as they imagine our churches to be in), may be repeated; and secondly, that held by Le Quien, that in so disputed a question it is better to take the *safe* side, and repeat the orders at least conditionally. With these principles we need not find fault, but they do not concern the question of the validity of our orders at all; they relate only to disputes among Romanists themselves; and reordinations under such circumstances are no proof of general objections to their validity. They are merely prudential measures adopted as a temporary expedient until the church shall examine fully into the matter. Le Quien himself, after opposing these ordinations in every way, at length intimates plainly that after all the question of their invalidity is not decided yet. "When God by his mercy shall will that England reunite herself to the catholic church, and it shall be required to receive her ministers with their orders, we shall decide on grounds far beyond mere probability or presumptiveness, and we shall require such evidence for our perfect security, that all difficulties may be removed by demonstration."[l]

It has been observed, that the objections to the validity of English Ordinations have emanated entirely from the English and Irish Romanists. It is highly instructive to observe the series of these objections and their variations; because nothing

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[i] See Mason de Minister. p. 14.

[k] Courayer, Dissert. sur la Val. Preuves Justif. Défense, Preuves Justific.

[l] Le Quien, Nullité des Ord. Angl. t. ii. p. 396.

can prove more evidently, that they derive their origin not so much from real doubt, as from design, and from a resolution to prove our ordinations invalid by any means.[m] In arguing for the cause of the church, every expedient consistent with Christian morality may be justly employed; but the Jesuits and Seminary-priests who assailed our ordinations, resorted to a system of falsehood and chicanery without parallel in the history of theological controversy.

Immediately after the accession of Elizabeth and the ordinations of the English bishops, Harding maintained that they were null, as not having been performed according to the Roman ritual.[n] Stapleton took another course. He argued, that the 'Protestant' bishops being devoid of all legitimate authority by their 'separation from the church of Rome,' whatever they did was null and void, and therefore they were not to be accounted bishops.[o] Fitzsimon, the Jesuit, contended that the fact of their marriage rendered the ordination confirmed by them null and void.[p] These arguments were felt to be insufficient, and so another line of attack was adopted.

Osorious, Weston, Bristow, Stapleton, Harding, Sanders, Allen, and others, asserted confidently the direct falsehood, that the English bishops had not received any imposition of hands, and that there was no rite of ordination whatever employed. However, as a resource against those who might deny this assertion, they kept in reserve the jesuitical evasion, that they only meant a *legitimate and canonical* imposition of hands or other ceremony.[q] Such was the system pursued during the reign of Elizabeth; in that of James a new system was devised.

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[m] See Courayer, Déf. de la Dissert. t. i. p. 77, &c.

[n] Harding, ap. Champnæum, p. 461.—Courayer, p. 79.

[o] Stapleton, Opera, t. ii. p. 771.—Ibid.

[p] Fitzsimon, Britanomachia, p. 322.—Ibid.

[q] Stapleton, ii. p. 779. Weston, de tripl. Hom. off. p. 224. Bristow, Mot. Antihæret. t. ii. p. 226. Sanders, de Schism. Angl. ed. 1610. p. 340. See Courayer, Dissert. t. i. p. 83, &c.

In 1604 the Jesuit Holywood, or *Sacro-bosco*, devised the story of the ordination of the bishops at the Nag's-Head.[r] This fable, now heard of for the *first* time after a lapse of *forty* years, during which the English ordinations had been actively assailed, was eagerly caught up. The Jesuits, Fitzsimon and Parsons, immediately repeated it. Kellison, who knew nothing of it when he had composed a former work, inserted it in his reply to Sutcliffe. Champney followed his example in his reply to Mason.[s] It became the popular argument of the day; and the impression which it was calculated to make on the ignorant and credulous was too useful, to permit the abandonment of a report of which the missionaries made so good a use. Parsons, the Jesuit, embellished the story by adding that he had heard on "good authority," that archbishop Whitgift had been ordained by Elizabeth herself with imposition of hands![t] It was in vain that the authentic records of Lambeth, and of England generally, were adduced to prove the utter absurdity and falsehood of these tales. It was asserted that these records were *forged!* Something was still wanting, however, to the perfection of the popish argument, and Champney imagined he had discovered it. He was the first to deny, in 1616, the consecration of Barlow, the principal consecrator of archbishop Parker.[u] About *eighty* years had elapsed, since Barlow was ordained; and during that interval no one had ever called the fact into question. It was useful, however, to do so now; and so, although every conceivable proof of that ordination was supplied, (with the exception of the very registration of the fact, which is also wanting in the case of *many* of his contemporaries who were undoubtedly consecrated;[v]) his ordination was pertinaciously denied.

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[r] Courayer, p. 86. [s] Ibid. p. 87.

[t] Courayer, Déf. de la Dissert. t. i. part i. p. 85. [u] Ibid. p. 87.

[v] See Mason, De Minister. Angl. lib. iii. c. 10; Elrington, On English Ordinations, p. 112. &c.; Courayer, Validité des Ord. Angl. part i. c. 3, &c. It would be difficult to overrate the value of Courayer's three works on the

Finally, in the time of Charles II., Lewgar devised the mode of attacking our ordinations on point of form. He objected, that even admitting the authenticity of the Lambeth records, the form of our ordinations was indefinite; that there was an essential deficiency in this respect; and therefore that our orders were null and void. The labours of others, as Le Quien, &c. consisted in endeavouring to show, that at least there was great *doubt* as to their validity.

The whole history leads us irresistibly to the conclusion, that the objections against the validity of the English ordinations were all invented for *missionary* purposes; and that they were not the result of any genuine doubt or difficulty in the minds of those who made them.

The objections to the validity of the English ordinations divide themselves into two branches; one concerning *facts;* and the other concerning *right*. The former includes the assertion, that the bishops at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were made merely by act of parliament or by the royal patent, without any imposition of hands or religious rites whatever; the fable of the ordination at the Nag's Head, when persons unordained are said to have ordained each other; and the denial of Barlow's ordination. These points have been so fully discussed by Courayer and others, and refuted by so great a body of authentic evidence, that no person of sufficient information can with *honesty* attack the ordinations of the church of England on this ground; and we must decline all controversy on the point, until the *information* of the opponent, and his actual *belief* in the facts he advances, have been tested.

The objections relating to *right*, shall be briefly noticed and refuted here. They are derived from the work of Lewgar, entitled "Erastus Senior," and from Le Quien and Tournely.

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question of English ordinations. They ought to be in the possession of every clergyman who can procure them. It were indeed much to be desired, that these very useful writings should be reprinted, either in the original or in a translation.

ORJECTIONS.

I. The form of ordination of bishops in the ritual of Edward VI. and Elizabeth was invalid; for the essential form of ordination consists in some *fit words*, that is to say, words *signifying the order given;* for otherwise the same right which ordains a deacon would ordain a priest and a bishop. The imposition of hands is common to all the three orders, and to confirmation, &c. There must therefore be some words joined with it, to determine it to convey the grace of the episcopal order. Now the whole form of ordaining a bishop in the English ordinal, was only this: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness:" and in this there is nothing but what might be said to any priest or deacon at ordination, or even to any child at confirmation.[w]

Answer. The form of ordination does not consist merely in these words, but in the prayer which immediately precedes them, and in which grace is implored for the elect bishop after his examination, that he may "as a faithful and wise servant give to God's family their portion in due season," evidently alluding to his office as ruler over God's household. (2.) The form which accompanies the imposition of hands in episcopal ordination in the Roman pontifical itself, is merely this: "Receive the Holy Ghost;" and the prayer which follows, does not directly mention the episcopal office.

II. Admitting the imposition of hands and prayer to be the only essential rites in ordination; this prayer must expressly convey the power of offering *sacrifice;* but the English forms of ordination include no mention of such a power, and are therefore null.[x]

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[w] Lewgar, Erastus Senior. Le Quien, Nullité des Ord. Angl. t. ii. p. 80—86.

[x] Lewgar, p. 21; Le Quien, t. ii.

That the power of sacrificing must be expressly mentioned in the form of ordination, is argued *first* from the necessity of mentioning the principal *end* of the holy ministry, which, it is contended, is the offering of sacrifice.[y] This is founded on the decree of the council of Trent, affirming the doctrine of a sacrifice in the Eucharist.[z]

I reply, that the council of Trent in affirming a sacrifice in the eucharist, never affirmed that the offering of this sacrifice was the chief *end* of the Christian ministry, which is the exact point requiring proof; and further, I deny the other position altogether; because the single end of the Christian ministry, is the end of the ministry and priesthood of its Divine Author—the salvation of human souls; to which the offering of sacrifice is one *means* out of many. This is proved by the words of scripture: "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers: for the *perfecting* of the saints, for the work of the *ministry*, for the *edifying of the body of Christ:* till we all come, &c., unto *a perfect man*, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."[a] And again: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, *to feed the church of God*, which he hath purchased with His own blood."[b] Here is nothing of offering the eucharistic sacrifice as the *end* of the ministry.

Secondly, it is argued, that the power of sacrificing must be expressly conveyed in the form of ordination, from the universal practice of the church, evidenced by the various rituals and ordinals. It is contended that this power is expressly given in the ordinations of the Greek church: in the consecration of the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, and of the Coptic priests; in the forms of episcopal and sacerdotal ordination in the apostolical constitutions; in those of the Maronites, and in the Roman.[c]

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[y] Le Quien, t. ii. p. 13. 108. [z] Ibid. t. ii. c. 1. [a] Ephes. iv. 11. &c.
[b] Acts xx. 28. [c] Le Quien, t. ii. p. 112, &c.

I reply, that all the ancient forms of ordination do not expressly convey this power. In the Ethiopic ordinations published by Ludolf, in the ancient Coptic form of ordaining priests, and in the rite of the Syrian Jacobites, there is no mention of the power of offering sacrifice. Several of the most ancient Latin manuscripts of the monastery of Corby, of the churches of Sens, Noyon, Beauvais, and other sacramentaries 1000 years old, omit the prayer of the Roman pontifical, which mentions the consecration of the eucharist in the ordination of priests. Even the Greek euchologion and the apostolic constitutions only employ general terms, which do not necessarily relate to the mystical sacrifice in the eucharist.[d] Therefore, the objection against the English form is perfectly unavailing on this ground.

It is further objected, that at all events the church of England evidently did not mean to confer any power of celebrating the sacrifice; because she substituted these forms in place of others which expressly mentioned it; and because her articles and all her theologians deny that there is any sacrifice in the eucharist.

I reply, *first*, that supposing the Roman forms to have been formerly used in England, the power of sacrificing was only given expressly in the *modern* rite of delivering the instruments, which, with many other modern and unnecessary rites, was removed. Therefore, the omission need not have arisen from any disinclination to the eucharistic sacrifice, understood in an orthodox sense; and,

Secondly, the church of England has always acknowledged such a sacrifice. The thirty-first article is directed against the vulgar and heretical doctrine of the *reiteration* of Christ's sacrifice in the eucharist. It was only those "missarum sacrificia *quibus vulgo dicebatur*, sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis," which are pro-

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[d] Courayer, Défense de la Dissertation, t. ii. part i. p. 21—27. [See the forms of ordination in question, in the Appendix to Perceval on the Apostolical Succession. 12mo. N. York, 1840.]

nounced, "blasphema figmenta et perniciosæ imposturæ;" but not "missarum sacrificia," as understood by the fathers and in an orthodox sense. The article was directed against the errors maintained or countenanced by such men as Soto, Hardinge,[e] &c. who, by rejecting the doctrine of a sacrifice by *way of commemoration and consecration*, and not literally identical with that on the cross, and by their crude and objectionable mode of expression, countenanced the *vulgar error*, that the sacrifice of the eucharist or mass, was in every respect equal to that of Christ on the cross; and that it was in fact either a reiteration or a continuation of that sacrifice. The article was not directed against the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice as explained by Bossuet, Veron, and others, with which we have no material fault to find. Cranmer himself acknowledged that it might be called a sacrifice,[f] and our theologians, such as Bramhall, Beveridge, Patrick, Wilson, bishops; and Mason,[g] Field, Mede, Johnson, &c. always have taught the doctrine of the eucharistic altar, sacrifice, and oblation, according to scripture and apostolical tradition; and the articles of the church of England recognize the clergy in their various orders as *sacerdotes*, ἱερεῖς, ministers of sacrifice.[h]

III. The form of consecration ought not to contain direct heresy, and to implore God to sanction what is in itself heretical and contrary to His will; such a form must be regarded as

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[e] Ibid. p, 223, &c.

[f] See Vol. I. p. 483.

[g] "Quoties eucharistiam celebramus, toties Christum in mysterio offerimus, eundemque per modum commemorationis seu repræsentationis immolamus."—Mason. de Minister. Anglic. lib. v. c. i. p. 544.

[h] Article XXXII. "De conjugio *sacerdotum*." Some persons are never tired of asserting that the clergy are not "priests;" and that there is no "priest" under the new covenant but Jesus Christ our Saviour. They would do well to remember that this title cannot be refused to the clergy, because it is given to *all Christians* by scripture; for they offer spiritual sacrifices; and those who chiefly and especially offer the sacrifice of praise in the congregation, are in a peculiar sense "priests."

an offence to God, and must therefore be of no effect. Now the English form of ordaining bishops contains heresies. (1.) In the oath of supremacy, the king's supremacy is acknowledged, and the authority of the pope and of general councils is rejected. (2.) The question and answer concerning vocation, "according to the order of this realm," implies the recognition of laws removing the papal authority, and a promise to maintain all the heresies contained in the English articles. (3.) The question concerning the sufficiency of scripture, rejects the necessity of tradition. (4.) The question "whether he will call on God in prayer for understanding the same," refers him to his private judgment, and not to the church for its interpretation. (5.) The promise to "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine," refers to the doctrine of the Roman church. And after all these heretical questions and promises, the archbishop prays to God to enable the bishop elect to do these things. "Can such a prayer," it is asked, "containing errors so repugnant to the end and effect of ordination, be sufficient to obtain the aid of divine grace to the bishop elect ?"[i]

Answer. 1. These questions and this prayer are merely preliminary ceremonies, which do not affect the ordination. That is performed afterwards: therefore it is vain to point out errors in these forms. 2. There is not a trace of heresy in any of the questions and answers alluded to. To the first objection I reply, that the removal of the papal jurisdiction was legitimate, and consistent with the sacred canons, as is proved elsewhere.[k] I elsewhere also show that the regal supremacy was to be approved.[l] Therefore there is no heresy in this question or answer. To the second I reply, that the laws removing the papal jurisdiction were right and laudable according to the discipline of the catholic church; and as for the heresies of the

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[i] Tournely, Tract. de Ordin. p. 60—66.

[k] See Part II. chap. ii. Part VII.

[l] Part II. chap. iii. iv. v. Part V.

English articles, I deny that they contain a single heresy, and call for *proof*. To the third; that tradition has always been received by the church of England in the catholic sense, as I prove elsewhere.[m] To the fourth I answer, that the interpretation is a mistake; since the church of England does not admit of private judgment as *opposed* to church authority, as I have proved elsewhere.[n] To the fifth I say, that the promise to banish erroneous doctrine is general, and relates to no particular society or doctrine; and if Romanists insist on applying it to themselves, they must *prove* that the errors there contemplated are truly *articles of faith*, and taught by the catholic church; because otherwise it can be no *heresy* to promise to drive them away. But this they cannot do.

IV. The power of ordination in the church of England is derived not from Christ, but from the king. This is proved in the following manner: Henry VIII. assumed the title, and exercised the prerogative of "supreme head of the church of England." The parliament acknowledged it, and gave him power to correct heresies, &c. He gave licenses to bishops to exercise their episcopal functions of ordination, &c. Edward VI. exercised the same power, and caused the forms of ordination to be compiled by his supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs. The oath of supremacy expressed his royal power of appointing all things concerning faith, discipline, and rites. Permission to preach was granted by royal license, bishops were appointed *durante beneplacito:* the commission to consecrate them emanated from the crown. Excommunications were made by the same authority. Royal injunctions regulated not only worship, but faith and doctrine; and parliament reserved to itself the right of judging in religious controversy. Queen Elizabeth by the clause *supplentes* in the commission to Barlow and others, for the consecration of archbishop Parker, assumed this power.[o]

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[m] Part II. chap. vi. Part. III. [n] Ibid. and Part I. chap. x.

[o] Tournely, Tract. de Ordin. p. 50—57.

Answer. (1.) All these assertions do not in the remotest degree affect the validity of the English ordinations, because, let them imply what they will, they did not affect the validity of the ordinations conferred in the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. according to the former rite. Those ordinations were all *valid* by the confession of Romanists themselves. Therefore, the claims or exercise of the *king's supremacy* cannot affect the validity of our orders.

(2.) The church of England has never recognized the king as being in any degree the source of purely spiritual power, or of any except what is in its nature *temporal*.[p] And I have in another place reviewed the facts here misrepresented, and shewn them to be free from just blame, as relates to the church of England.[q]

These are the chief theological objections which I have observed, to the validity of the English ordinations. Objections in points of *form* are easily invented, and we need not doubt that further difficulties will be started hereafter. Yet this is a species of argument which may be employed against Romanists as well as against the church of England. It is needless to do more than allude to the serious difficulty, as to the validity of the eucharist in which the sacrament is received in one kind; but it might not be difficult for a Greek or a Monophysite to adduce as strong arguments against the Roman form of ordination, as the Romanists have urged against the English. It may be proved that all the ancient rituals and pontificals, including those of the Greek church,[r] the Maronites,[s] the Nestorians,[t] the Jacobites or Monophysites,[u] the canons of the synod of Carthage[v] (adopted as the *rubric* of all

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[p] See Vol. I. p. 242. 428. 435. Vol. II. p. 323, 324.

[q] Part II.

[r] Morinus de Ordin. p. 65. 74, 75. 89, 90. 95, 96. 102, 103. 125.

[s] Ibid. p. 429.

[t] Ibid. p. 467, 468.

[u] Ibid. p. 487.

[v] Syn. Carthag. iv. c. 1.

the ancient Roman and western pontificals ;[w]) that all these rituals, I say, require the imposition of hands to be given by the consecrating bishops *while* the prayer of consecration is repeated; and therefore that the modern Roman ritual, which directs that imposition to take place *before* the prayer, is null and void. It might be argued that this *union* of the imposition of hands and form of words is necessary, in order to determine the former to the grace of the *episcopal* order, &c. It would be easy to make a plausible case out of this, which could only be met by reference to the scripture, where the imposition of hands is indifferently spoken of as preceding and following the prayer. We might also find a strong objection to the validity of confirmation as administered in the Roman church, from the want of a sufficient imposition of hands ; in which alone the essence of this sacrament is founded by scripture and the fathers.

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[w] See Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. t. ii. p. 340. 367. 376. 404. 458. 469. 486. 508.

CHAPTER XI.

ON ROMISH ORDINATIONS.

The church of England has, ever since the division in the sixteenth century, not only admitted the validity of the orders administered by bishops of the Roman obedience on the continent, but she has been induced, as an act of special favour, not to reordain those priests who have been schismatically ordained amongst the papists within her own jurisdiction, in order to facilitate their reunion to the true church. This, I say, was an act of special favour, for the church is not bound to know any thing of ordinations performed in schism or heresy: she cannot recognize any real ministry of Jesus Christ, in those who are ordained in enmity to his church: and if she does not always think it necessary to repeat the outward form by which they were constituted, it is not that she supposes any divine commission to have accompanied it originally.

But, in not reordaining popish priests, the church has always acted on the supposition, that the usual forms and rules were observed. Without doubt they were so for a long time: and still continue to be observed in far the greater part of the Roman obedience; but certain circumstances occurred with regard to the ordinations of papists in England and Ireland in the course of the last century, which seem to raise very considerable difficulties as to the validity of their ordinations.

It has been shown above,[a] that there are serious doubts even amongst the most eminent Roman theologians, whether the ordination of a bishop by one bishop only, is a valid ordination.

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[a] Chapter V.

Now, it is a fact which has hitherto escaped our observation, that during the greater part, if not the whole of last century, popish bishops were consecrated in England and Ireland by *one bishop assisted by two priests*, instead of bishops, as required by the canons. This fact did not attract attention, in consequence of the little publicity given to their ecclesiastical acts, and the non-existence of any detailed history of their proceedings.

In a book written by Mr. Plowden, an English papist, we find a translation of a bull of Pope Clement XIV. in 1771, nominating William Egan bishop of Sura "*in partibus*," and coadjutor of Peter Crew, titular of Waterford, with right of succession. This bull was in Mr. Plowden's possession. The following passage occurs in it: "We, kindly wishing to favour you in everything that can *increase your conveniency*, by the tenour of these presents, have granted you full and free license, that you may receive the gift of consecration from whatever catholic prelate, being in the grace and communion of the aforesaid apostolical see, you choose; and he may call in, as his assistants in this, *in lieu of bishops, two secular priests*, although not invested with any ecclesiastical dignity, or regulars of any order or institute, being in like grace and favour,"[b] &c. The same clause, so strangely and rashly setting aside all the canons and the apostolical tradition, appears in other bulls for Irish titular bishops printed by Dr. Burke,[c] who observes that "a permission of this tenour is conceded generally to the Irish, on account of the difficulty of assembling three bishops . . . . I say generally, because sometimes those who are on their affairs at Rome, omit to supplicate for that clause;"[d] that is to say, they could easily find three or more bishops at Rome to consecrate them. It seems from this, that

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[b] Plowden's Historical Letter to Dr. Charles O'Conor. Append. p. 122.

[c] Burke, Hibernia Dominicana, p. 503. 509.

[d] Ibid. p. 509. 462.

the popish bishops in Ireland generally *supplicated* for this clause, and without doubt they acted on it; indeed Dr. Burke does not attempt to deny that they did so.

This same mode of ordination has also been practised among the English papists. In the reign of James II. Dr. Leyburn was made bishop *in partibus* at Rome, 1685, and sent into England, where he was the only popish bishop. Soon after, in 1687, Dr. Giffard, chaplain of James II., was consecrated bishop *in partibus:* and I presume by Leyburn only, as the consecration seems to have taken place in England. Ellis and Smith, who were consecrated in London, in 1688, of course derived their orders from this prelate.[e]

In the life of Dr. Challoner it is stated, that he was "consecrated on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, the 29th January, 1741, by the Right Rev. Benjamin Petre, bishop of Prusa in Bithynia;"[f] and that there was no other bishop present, may be fairly inferred from the silence of the biographer, coupled with his particular mention of an assisting bishop on a subsequent occasion, when the same Dr. Challoner is said, with the assistance of the "bishop of Amoria, V. A. of the northern district," to have consecrated Dr. Talbot (his coadjutor and successor) 'bishop of Birtha.'[g] Again we find, that Dr. Sharrock was recommended by the titular bishop Walmsley "to the holy see, for his own coadjutor in the episcopal labours. His wish was granted, and *he* performed the ceremony of Dr. Sharrock's consecration to the see of Telmessus, on the 12th August, 1780. The ceremony was performed at Wardour with solemnity unprecedented since the Revolution. There were twelve assistant *priests*, a master of ceremonies,"[h] &c. No *bishops* are said to have assisted. The same Dr. Walmsley is said to have conse-

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[e] Dod. Church History, vol. iii. p. 466, &c.

[f] Barnard's Life of Challoner, p. 74.

[g] Ibid. p. 105.

[h] Catholic Spectator, 1825. p. 263.

crated Dr. W. Gibson at Lullworth, December 1790;[i] and, what is worthy of remark, Dr. John Carroll, the first titular bishop of Baltimore, in America, from whom the whole Romish hierarchy of the United States derive their orders,[k] was consecrated by the same Dr. Walmsley at Lullworth, August 15th, 1790.[l] We have, indeed, no reason to think that Dr. Walmsley himself was consecrated by more than one bishop. It seems as if the Roman pontiffs had no difficulty in giving permission for such ordinations in foreign missions. Joseph à S. Maria, 'bishop of Hierapolis,' and 'vicar apostolic' in India, A. D. 1659, being obliged to leave the country by the Dutch, consecrated Alexander de Campo bishop, according to the powers given him by the papal bulls.[m] Even so lately as 1800, the Roman pontiff empowered the bishop of Cadadre 'vicar apostolic' in China, to select his own coadjutor and consecrate him bishop of Tabraca.[n] It would be easy to point out many other instances in which the schismatical ordinations in England, Scotland, Ireland, America, &c. are spoken of in such a way as leads us to the inference, that consecrations by one bishop were but too common in the last century. We do not know, indeed, the precise extent to which this irregular practice was carried, because the accounts of such matters are very few and obscure; but there is evidently enough to throw a very serious doubt on their ordinations generally.

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[i] Catholic Miscellany, vol. i. 1822. p. 387.

[k] [It is believed that some of the present bishops of the Romish schism in the United States, have received consecration in Europe.]

[l] Catholic Spectator, 1824. p. 119. Rom. Cath. Mag. 1817. "Il devoit se faire sacrer. Il se présenta pour cet effet à M. Charles Walmesley, évêque de Rama, *in partibus infidelium*, et le plus ancien des quatres vicaires apostoliques anglois. Il étoit lié depuis long-temps avec cet estimable et savant prélat, qui lui donna la consécration épiscopale, le 15 Août 1790, dans la chapelle du château de Lullworth, au milieu d'un concours de prêtres et de fidèles accourus pour être témoins de cette cérémonie."—Mémoires pour serv. à l'Hist. Eccl. xviii. siècle, t. iii. p. 145.

[m] La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, t. ii. p. 202, 203.

[n] Cath. Miscellany, 1825. p. 207.

I admit, certainly, that of late years their episcopal consecrations have been attended by several bishops, apparently very much for the sake of pomp and ostentation; but if there be any reason to doubt whether their bishops were validly ordained in the last century, that doubt could not be cured by their now combining in numbers to remedy the defect. Ten or twenty bishops, themselves invalidly ordained, could not confer a more valid ordination than *one* similarly circumstanced.

It is to be observed also, that even if we could admit that any dispensation or any necessity could remove all doubt from such ordinations, we could not concede it in the case of the dispensations contained in the bulls of the Irish titular bishops. For, to pass over the fact, that these bulls were altogether null from a deficiency of jurisdiction on the part of the Roman pontiff in these churches, (that jurisdiction having long ago been canonically and validly withdrawn by the British churches, from which alone it had emanated;) it can never be allowed, that the reason assigned in that clause of the bulls, is sufficient to dispense with the canons of œcumenical synods, still in full force in the universal church. "Ad ea quæ *in tuæ commoditatis augmentum cedere possunt*, favorabiliter intendentes," is no sufficient reason. It does not contemplate any necessity, danger, or difficulty which could excuse such a dispensation. It would include any reason however trifling.

On the question of the invalidity of these orders I would not wish to speak positively: but the general discipline of the church with regard to reordinations, would amply justify us in not admitting popish priests ordained in these countries to minister in our churches, without receiving ordination from our bishops. If the church of England should be aware of this difficulty affecting their orders, and yet should not adopt another practice with regard to them, it need not be supposed that she acknowledges them free from doubt, but that from a desire to promote the return of the lost sheep to catholic unity, she would some-

times tolerate even dubious ordinations, and supply their deficiencies by her own supreme power.[o]

This, however, I would remark in conclusion, that according to the doctrine of the best Roman divines at least, the ordinations of papists in these countries are of dubious validity: the utmost that can be said for them is, that they may be probably valid: but according to Champney, one of the chief leaders of their schism, such ordinations do not confer any real vocation to the ministry. "An ordination," he says, "which is merely *probable*, or only probably sufficient and valid, only makes a probable bishop, or one who is merely probably a bishop. . . . But he who is only probably a bishop, is not validly and sufficiently appointed to the episcopal degree and power; nor has he true episcopal vocation: for true and valid episcopal vocation is not merely probable, but certain and undoubted . . . for otherwise, whatever the pastors and bishops of the church should perform, as bishops, would be so uncertain as to be probably null and invalid."[p]

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[o] [See Note [u] on page 409.]

[p] Champnæus, de Vocat. Ministr. p. 424, 425.

A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART VII.

ON THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART VII.

ON THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE PRE-EMINENCE OF ST. PETER.

The doctrine of the primacy of the bishop of Rome over the universal church, is the point on which all other controversies between the Roman and other churches turn: for if our Lord Jesus Christ instituted any official supremacy of one bishop in the catholic church, to endure always; and if this supremacy be inherited by the bishop of Rome, it will readily follow that the catholic church is limited to those of the Roman obedience; and that the councils, doctrines, and traditions of those churches are invested with the authority of the whole Christian world. The argument on which Roman theologians endeavour to establish the primacy of the Roman pontiff as *jure divino*, is as follows. (1.) St. Peter was given by our Saviour a primacy or supremacy of official dignity and power in the church beyond the other apostles. (2.) This primacy was an ordinary office designed to be permanent in the church. (3.) The Roman pontiff alone has a just claim to this primacy, manifested by the continued possession and exercise of its rights from the earliest

periods. The different members of this argument will form the subjects of the present and the three following chapters.

That St. Peter was in a certain sense the first of the apostles may be readily conceded. His zeal, his love of Christ, and the many and great labours to which they prompted him, seem to have exceeded those of the other apostles. This would sufficiently account for his being generally placed first by the sacred writers, when his name occurs with those of other apostles; and it would also account for our Lord's distinguishing him above the rest, by addressing him peculiarly on several occasions, when he intended to convey directions, or give powers to all the apostles. Such is the opinion of St. Augustine and St. Cyril.[a] Several of the fathers, however, were of opinion, that Peter had this pre-eminence in consequence of his *age*, being the eldest of the apostles. This doctrine is taught by Jerome, Chrysostom, and Cassianus.[b] Others, as Epiphanius, Cyprian, Hilary, Basil, Gregory the great, and Chrysostom in another place, suppose that Peter was first of the apostles, because he was *first called*.[c] Others, as Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, Epiphanius, Optatus, Ambrose, suppose that he was given the pre-eminence in consequence of his public *confession of Christ*.[d] It appears from this, that catholic tradition does not enable us to determine with certainty the reasons for which St. Peter had a personal pre-eminence of honour among the apostles. But I now proceed to show that this apostle had no *official* supremacy or jurisdiction over the other apostles.

I. According to scripture, the apostles were all equal and supreme in authority. Our Lord said to all the apostles collectively and individually, "Whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words; . . . . it shall be more tolerable for the land

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[a] Du Pin, De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina, p. 312. ed. Paris. 1686.

[b] Du Pin, ibid. Tournely, De Eccl. t. ii. p. 11. Barrow, Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Works, vol. i. p. 560. ed. 1722.

[c] Du Pin, ibid. Tournely, ibid. Barrow, ibid.

[d] Tournely, ut supra, p. 12. Barrow, ibid.

of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city."[e] "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever, even the Spirit of Truth."[f] "He will guide you into all truth."[g] After his resurrection he said to them, "As my Father hath sent me, so send I you. . . . . He breathed on them and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."[h] "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."[i]

From these passages I argue, that all the apostles were invested with equal and SUPREME authority in the church. For our Lord's words were addressed to all the apostles: no distinction was made: all were alike addressed, and all were therefore given the same apostolical authority. And the authority thus given was SUPREME. Every apostle was to be heard under the penalty of eternal death: every apostle was guided by the Holy Ghost into all truth: every apostle was sent *as Jesus Christ was sent* by the Father; that is, with the plenitude of supreme power: every apostle was authorized to remit sins, and to teach all nations. Nothing conceivable by human imagination can surpass the grandeur and the magnitude of this mission and these powers; and, therefore, St. Peter could not have exceeded the other apostles in power or official dignity; but could only have excelled them in personal respects. And accordingly, we find that St. Peter was always superior to the other disciples in zeal and activity; but never do we find an instance of his exercising authority over them. In fact, scripture plainly teaches us that "God hath set some in the church: FIRST apostles, secondarily

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[e] Matt. x. 14, 15. [f] John xiv. 6. [g] John xvi. 13.
[h] John xx. 21—23. [i] Matt. xxviii. 18—20.

prophets,"[k] &c. Therefore, the twelve apostles were FIRST in the church: not the apostle Peter alone.

II. The same conclusion is supported by tradition. Tertullian says: "We have *the apostles* of Christ for our authors."[l] Cyprian: "Certainly the other apostles were what Peter was, endowed with *an equal plenitude both of honour and power:* but the beginning takes its rise from unity, that the church may be demonstrated to be *one*."[m] Ambrose: "When Peter heard, 'But what say ye that I am?' immediately remembering his place, he takes the precedence: the precedence indeed in confession, *not in honour:* the precedence in faith, *not in order*."[n] "Hear him saying, 'I will give thee the keys.' . . What is said to Peter is said to the other apostles."[o] Jerome: "John and James did not, though they sought it, obtain more than the rest: and yet their dignity was not diminished; because they were equal to the rest of the apostles."[p] Chrysostom: "Whence is it manifest that the apostle is before all others; and that as the consul amongst earthly magistracies, so the apostle hath the pre-

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[k] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[l] "Apostolos Domini habemus autores." — Tertull. De Præscript. adv. Hæres.

[m] "Quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat: 'Sicut misit me Pater et ego mitto vos: Accipite Spiritum sanctum: si cui remiseritis peccata remittentur illi: si cui tenueritis tenebuntur:' tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris et potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut ecclesia una monstretur."—Cypr. De Unit. Eccl.

[n] "Hic (Petrus) ubi audivit, 'Vos autem quid me dicitis?' statim loci non immemor sui, primatum egit; primatum confessionis utique, non honoris; primatum fidei, non ordinis."—Lib. de Incarn. c. iv. t. ii. p. 710.

[o] "Denique audi dicentem: 'Tibi dabo claves,' &c. . . . Quod Petro dicitur, cæteris apostolis dicitur."—Ambros. in Ps. xxxviii. t. i. p. 858.

[p] "Joannes et Jacobus quia plus cæteris petierunt, non impetraverunt; et tamen non est dignitas eorum imminuta, quia reliquis apostolis æquales fuerunt."—Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. i.

eminence in spirituals? Let us hear Paul enumerating the authorities, and setting that of the apostles in the highest place. What does he say then? 'God placed some in the church, *first* apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers and pastors, then gifts of healing.' See you the summit of dignities? See you the *apostle* sitting on high, and no one before or above him: for he says, '*First* apostles,'[q] &c." Chrysostom adds that "the apostolate is not only the first of dignities, but the root and foundation of all others."[r] He says that the apostles were "all in common entrusted with the care of the whole world."[s] Cyril of Alexandria, says, that the apostles were "universal judges," and "rulers of the whole world;"[t] and in his epistle to Nestorius, approved by the third and following œcumenical synods, he says that Peter and John were "equal in honour to each other."[u] Victor, of Carthage: "To the church, all the blessed apostles, endued with *equal fellowship of honour and power*, brought multitudes of people."[v] Isidore Hispalensis: "The other apostles received an *equal fellowship of power and honour with Peter*, and, dispersed throughout the world, preached the gospel."[w] The fifth œcumenical synod declares, that "the

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[q] Καὶ πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον· ὅτι πρὸ πάντων ὁ ἀπόστολος τούτων ἐστί· καὶ καθάπερ ὁ ὕπατος ἐν ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς ἀρχαῖς, οὕτως ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τὴν προεδρείαν ἔχει; αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου ἀκούσωμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος. τί οὖν οὗτός φησιν; οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς κ. τ. λ. Εἶδες κορυφὴν ἀρχῶν; εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ἀνώτερον; πρῶτον γὰρ ἀποστόλους φησί.—Chrys. Hom. de Util. Lect. Script. t. iii. Oper. p. 75. ed. Ben.

[r] Οὐκ ἀρχὴ δὲ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ῥίζα.—Ibid.

[s] Πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Ibid. p. 77.

[t] Κριτὰς ἐσχήκαμεν οἰκουμενικοὺς, τοὺς ἁγίους μαθητάς.—Cyril. Glaph. in Gen. t. i. p. 229.

[u] Καὶ γοῦν Πέτρος τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι μὲν ἀλλήλοις, καθὸ καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἅγιοι μαθηταί.—Cyril. Epist. ii. ad Nestor. Hard. Conc. t. i. p. 1288.

[v] "Ad quam (ecclesiam) omnes beatissimi apostoli, pari honoris et potestatis consortio prædíti, populorum agmina, convertentes . . perduxerunt."—Victor. Carthag. Epist. ad Theodor. Pap. Harduin. Conc. t. iii. p. 754.

[w] "Cæteri apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acce-

grace of the Holy Spirit abounded in each of the apostles, so that they needed not the counsel of any other in the things that should be done."[x] Nicholas de Cusa says: "We know that Peter received from Christ *no more power than the other apostles;* for nothing was said to Peter which was not also said to the others. Therefore, we say rightly that all the apostles were *equal in power* with Peter."[y z]

III. Let us now briefly notice what is alleged by our opponents from scripture, in proof of St. Peter's official primacy of honour and power over the other apostles.

(1.) It is alleged that our Lord, having originally given Simon the name of "Cephas," or Peter, "a stone," in order to signify the office to which he was to be called, conferred that office on him, on occasion of his confession of the true faith, in these words: "I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on

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perunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi, evangelium prædicaverunt."—Isidor. Hispal. De Officiis, lib. ii. c. 5.

x "Licit enim sancti Spiritus gratia et circa singulos apostolos abundaret, ut non indigerent alieno consilio ad ea quæ agenda erant." — Collat. viii. Harduin. Concil. t. iii. p. 188.

y "Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus potestatis a Christo recepit aliis apostolis. Nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non sit . . . . Ideo recte dicimus, omnes apostolos esse æquales cum Petro in potestate."—Nicol. Cusanus, De Conc. Cath. lib. ii. c. 13.

z [Cœlestin, bishop of Rome, in his letter to the Council of Ephesus, explicitly asserts the equality of all the apostles, and of their successors, as keepers of the faith. Ακουεσθω ταυτα παρα παντων εις το κοινον, κυριοι αδελφοι· ὁ της παρατεθεισης διδασκαλιας ἡ φροντις παρεπεμψε δικαιως κληρονομιαν εις ἡμας. εν ταυτῃ τῃ φροντιδι σφιγγομεθα οἱ πανταχου, ϗ ανα πασαν την οικουμενην, τῃ εκεινων διαδοχῃ το ονομα κυριου κηρυττοντες, ὡς εκεινοις προστετακται· πορευθεντες μαθητευσατε παντα τα εθνη. προσεχειν ἡ ὑμετερα αδελφοτης οφειλει. ὁτι παρεδεξατο γενικην εντολην· και ἡμας αυτους παντας τουτο πραττειν ηθελησεν, ὁς τις πασιν εκεινοις περι της κοινης ενετειλατο πιστεως, και λειτουργιας. Conc. Ed. Rom. tom. i. p. 403. c. d.]

earth, shall be loosed in heaven."[b] From this, it is argued by Bellarmine and other Roman theologians, that St. Peter is here represented as the foundation on which the church is built: that a foundation is to a building what a head is to a body, or a ruler to a state: that "keys" signify "dominion," being presented to rulers in token of obedience: and therefore, that the text signifies that St. Peter was to be head, ruler, or governor of the whole church, including the apostles.

Opinions differ as to this interpretation: to some it may appear probable; to others fanciful and strained. But all that I need do, is to prove first, that this interpretation is uncertain, and cannot suffice to support an article of faith; and secondly, that a different interpretation is probably correct.

First, the church is not agreed that the "rock" here spoken of means St. Peter. Du Pin and Natalis Alexander have shown, that some of the fathers, as Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Etherius, Beatus, Paschasius, &c. interpret it of *the apostles generally*:[c] that others, as Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Bede, Paulinus, Rabanus, Anselm, Lombard, Innocent III., &c. understand it to mean *our Lord himself*:[d] and that the majority interpret it of the *true faith*. This, according to Natalis Alexander,[e] is the doctrine of Hilary, Gregory Nyssene, Ambrose, Hilary the deacon, Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenalis, Leo, Petrus Chrysologus, Theodoret, Eucherius, Felix III., Gregory the great, Bede, John Damascenus, Hadrian I., Druthmar, Jonas Aurelianensis, Hincmar, Nicholas I., John VIII., Theophanes, Theodorus Abucara, Stephen VI., Odo Cluniacensis, Rupert Tuitensis, Innocent II., Hadrian IV., Urban III., Thomas Aquinas, Ste-

[b] Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

[c] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 306. ed. 1686. Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl. t. viii. dissert. iv.

[d] Natalis Alexander, ibid. Du Pin, p. 305.

[e] Ibid. Ibid. p. 304, 305.

phen, bishop of Paris, Alphonsus Tostatus, Clictovæus, Eckius, Renatus Benedictus.

It is most true also, that many of the fathers understand *St. Peter himself* as the "rock." Natalis Alexander mentions among these, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Hilary, Basil, Ambrose, Epiphanius Jerome, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo, Maximus, Theophylact, Euthymius.[f]

These circumstances prove incontestably, that the church has not received any certain apostolical tradition as to the meaning of this part of the text: it is clear, that not only have different fathers interpreted it differently, but even the very same fathers, at different times. In fact, St. Augustine leaves it to the choice of the reader to understand the "rock" either to mean St. Peter, or our Lord himself.[g] Therefore, no interpretation of this term is *de fide*, or can suffice to support an article of faith.

We now come to the "keys," and power of "binding and loosing." That this part of the text does not prove St. Peter to have had a superior official dignity and jurisdiction to the other apostles, we may conclude, from the fact stated by the learned Roman-catholic Du Pin, that the ancient fathers "with a unanimous consent, teach that the keys were *given to the whole church* in the person of Peter." This is the doctrine of Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Optatus, Gaudentius, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Theophylact, Eucherius, Beda, Rabanus Maurus, Lyranus, Hincmar, Odo, Petrus Blesensis, and others innumerable.[h] Hence, Du Pin concludes that "the

[f] Ibid. Ibid.

[g] "In hoc libro dixi in quodam loco de apostolo Petro, quod in illo tanquam in petra fundata sit ecclesia . . . sed scio me postea sæpissime sic exposuisse quod a Domino dictum est, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam,' ut super hunc intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus, dicens, 'Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi.' . . . Harum autem duarum sententiarum, quæ sit probabilior eligat lector."—August. Retract. lib. i. c. 21.

[h] Du Pin, De Antiq. Ecclesiæ Discipl. p. 309; Barrow, Treatise on Pope's Supremacy, p. 587.

keys in this place cannot mean, as Bellarmine wishes, the chief power over the whole church;" and that "it cannot be inferred from this place, that St. Peter received any thing which was not given to the other apostles."[i]

From the preceding observations, it appears, that the interpretation of this text usually given by Roman theologians, is not supported by the universal consent of the church; and that it is even disputed without censure in their own communion. Therefore, it cannot found an article of faith.

In fine, there is another interpretation which seems more probable. As a foundation, then, signifies that which commences and supports the whole building; and as "keys" with their power of "binding and loosing," signify the privilege of opening what has been hitherto closed; so St. Peter was to commence and sustain the church, and to open its gates to believers. This is the interpretation of the ancient writer under the name of Ambrose, who says: "he is called a rock, because he first laid the foundation of faith amongst the nations:"[k] it is supported by Tertullian, who says, "The event teaches us that it was so. The church was built up on him, that is, by him. He introduced the key, and mark in what manner: 'Men of Israel, hearken with your ears to what I say unto you, that Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you,' &c. In fine, he first, in Christian baptism, unlocked the entrance of the heavenly kingdom."[l] St. Peter was the rock on which the church was founded, for he first preached

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[i] Ibid.

[k] "Petra enim dicitur, eò quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit."—Ambros. Sermo ii. de Sanctis, ed. Rom. 1585.

[l] "Sic enim et exitus docet. In ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum. Ipse clavem imbuit: vide quam; Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum, virum a Deo vobis destinatum, et reliqua. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo, reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, quo solvuntur alligata retro delicta, et alligantur quæ non fuerint soluta, secundum veram salutem."—Tertull. de Pudicitia, c. 21. p. 574. ed. Rigalt.

to the Jews, and converted in one day three thousand men. He sustained the church by his zealous labours, for of him alone it is said, that "he passed through all quarters."[m] And he first exercised the power of the "keys," in baptizing three thousand Jews, and (having been "made choice" of by God to preach first to the Gentiles),[n] in opening the gates of the kingdom of heaven to them, by commanding Cornelius and his house to be baptized. Therefore, as Du Pin says, "supposing Christ to have spoken these words of Peter personally, he meant nothing else than that Peter should labour exceedingly in the edification of the church, that is, in the conversion of the faithful, or administration of the churches. The utmost, then, that can be deduced from hence is, that he should be the first and chief among those who were to preach the gospel: but it cannot be collected with Bellarmine, that *the government of the whole church was committed to Peter*, especially in matters of faith."[o]

(2) The other passage on which Roman theologians chiefly rely to establish the supremacy of St. Peter, is that in which our Lord thrice said to Peter, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" and when he had replied, "Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee," added these words, "Feed my lambs—feed my sheep."[p] It is here argued, that the word "feed" means in scripture, "rule or govern:" that "sheep" and "lambs" mean all Christians, whether pastors or people: and therefore that St. Peter was by these words given jurisdiction over the whole church including the apostles themselves.

I reply, that the very terms of this passage show that our Lord was not here conferring a *power* on St. Peter, but giving an *admonition*. "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep." If thou lovest me more than these, let it be proved by diligently tending my flock. This is the interpretation

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[m] Acts ix. 32. [n] Acts xv. 7.

[o] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Diss. iv. p. 307.

[p] John xxi. 15—17.

given by Chrysostom, who explains our Lord's words thus: "If thou lovest me, protect the brethren, and now show that warm affection which thou hast always manifested, and in which thou hast rejoiced."[q] The same father, in many other places, regards it as an *injunction* to Peter to manifest his love for Christ by his pastoral zeal.[r] St. Augustine appears to have understood it in the same manner.[s] The Roman clergy in the time of Cyprian, in speaking of the pastoral care, adduced these words of our Lord as intended to point out to Peter his duty, and as also applicable to all other apostles and pastors.[t] It was in fact the general doctrine of all the fathers, that these words were not addressed to Peter only, but to all the ministers of Jesus Christ. Tournely,[u] Du Pin,[v] Natalis Alexander, and Launoy,[w] quote Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Basil, &c. in proof that not only Peter, but all the apostles and their successors were commanded to feed the flock. Barrow adds the testimony of Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria,[x] &c. to the same effect. Du Pin observes, that if some of the fathers, as Leo, Theophylact, and Chrysostom, say

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[q] Ὅτι εἰ φιλεῖς με προίστασο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τὴν θερμὴν ἀγάπην ἣν διὰ πάντων ἐπεδείκνυσο, καὶ ἐφ' ᾗ ἠγαλλιάσω, νῦν δεῖξον.—Chrysost. Hom. 88. in Joh. t. viii. p. 525.

[r] See many places cited by Launoius, Epistolæ, p. 91. ed. Cantabr.

[s] August. tract. xlvii. super Joh. Evangel. Oper. t. iii. p. 607.

[t] "Denique et ipse Dominus implens quæ erant scripta in lege et prophetis, docet dicens, 'Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam,' &c. Sed et Simoni sic dicit, 'Diligis me?' respondit, 'Diligo:' ait ei, 'Pasce oves meas.' Hoc verbum factum ex actu ipso quo cessit cognoscimus, et cæteri discipuli similiter fecerunt."—Cler. Rom. Cypr. Epist. iii. ed. Pamel.

[u] Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 9, 10.

[v] Du Pin, ut supra, p. 310.

[w] Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccl. t. viii. Dissert. iv. Launoius, Epistolæ, pars ii. ep. i. p. 90, &c. See also p. 637.

[x] Barrow, Treatise on Pope's Supremacy, Works, vol. ii. p. 587. ed. 1722.

that the sheep throughout the whole world were committed to Peter; and if it be argued from this that St. Peter was superior to the other apostles, it must be recollected that all the apostles were, equally with him, given the power of "teaching all nations."[y] As to the interpretation of "sheep" and "lambs" as "*pastors*" and "people," it is uncertain. Theophylact understands them to mean perfect and imperfect Christians.[z]

Du Pin concludes that "the primacy of Peter cannot be collected from these places adduced by Bellarmine, in the manner he deduces it:"[a] but he thinks that from Peter's *representing* the church, and being addressed by our Lord instead of the others, a primacy may be collected. I have spoken sufficiently of the former text already: but from this text no primacy can be deduced, because our Saviour's words imply a simple injunction and admonition, which, though directed immediately to Peter, (in order, as St. Cyril of Alexandria says, to renew his apostleship after the crime of denying our Lord,)[b] would be readily understood at once by all the apostles, as equally applicable to themselves.

(3.) As to the various instances in which St. Peter was distinguished above the other apostles, such as his being named first by the evangelists, his speaking first, our Lord's entering his ship in preference to the others, his proposing the election of an apostle in place of Judas, his speaking first in the council at Jerusalem, &c.; these passages concur in proving what is readily admitted, that St. Peter had a personal pre-eminence among the apostles, derived perhaps partly from his seniority, but most justly founded on his faith and love of our Lord Jesus

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[y] Du Pin ut supra.

[z] Theophylact, in Joh. xxi. Comment. in Evangel. p. 845. ed Paris, 1631.

[a] Du Pin, p. 311.

[b] Cyril. Alexandr. in c. xxi. Joh. Evang.

Christ. They are in vain alleged to prove any official superiority of jurisdiction.

IV. We are now to consider the various proofs from tradition, brought forward to invalidate our position. Tertullian and Cyprian say that Peter was the rock on which the church was built.[c] Origen terms Peter "the highest summit of the apostles,"[d] and says that "to him principally it was delivered to feed the sheep."[e] Eusebius terms him "the first pontiff of the Christians:"[f] "the most powerful and great of the apostles."[g] Basil: "Peter was preferred before all the disciples. To him greater testimonies were given than to others; who was pronounced blessed, and to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven were entrusted."[h] Chrysostom calls him the "mouth," the "prince," the "summit," of the apostles.[i] Epiphanius: "He chose Peter to be the leader of the disciples."[k] Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril Alexandrianus, Optatus, term Peter the "head and prince"[l] of the church. Ambrose: "Andrew did not receive the primacy, but Peter."[m] Augustine: "In Peter the primacy of the apostles is pre-eminent by so excellent a grace;"[n] "St. Peter, himself the first in order of the apostles."[o] Jerome speaks in the same manner.[p] The council

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[c] Tertull. lib. de Præscrip. Cypr. Epist. 55. Lib. de Unitate.

[d] Origen, Hom. ii. De diversis.

[e] Origen, in c. 6. epist. ad Romanos.

[f] Euseb. Chronic. an. 44. [g] Euseb. Hist. lib. ii. c. 14.

[h] Basil. Procem. de Judicio Dei.

[i] Chrysost. Hom. 87 in Joan. Hom. iii. in Act. Apost. Orat. viii. adv. Jud.

[k] Epiphanius, Hæres. 51.

[l] Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. ii. & ix.; Cyril Alexandr. lib. xii. in Joannem; Optatus, lib. ii. contr. Parmen.

[m] Ambros. in cap. 12. epist. ii. ad Cor.

[n] August. lib. ii. de Baptismo.

[o] August. Sermo. 13, al. 76. de verbis Domini.

[p] Hieron. Epist. ad Damasum.

of Chalcedon terms Peter "the rock of the catholic church, and the foundation of the right faith."[q]

I answer, that these passages merely assert the personal pre-eminence of St. Peter among the apostles, which we admit. In this sense he may be most justly called the first of the apostles; or in rhetorical language, their leader, head, summit, chief, or prince. Therefore these passages do not afford any objection to our principle: and it has been already proved, that tradition, as well as scripture, establishes the equality and supremacy of all the apostles. Therefore, all the above passages must be interpreted accordingly.

It is further objected, that St. Leo of Rome, says: "From the whole world, Peter alone is selected to be placed over the vocation of all nations, and over all the apostles and fathers of the church: that although there be many bishops in the people of God, yet Peter should with propriety govern all those who are supremely ruled by Christ also."[r] In reply to this, I allow that St. Leo and other Roman pontiffs were occasionally led to magnify the privileges of St. Peter beyond the truth, by a desire to honour the founder of their particular church; but these amplifications can only be viewed as the private opinions of those bishops, not as representing the sentiments of catholic tradition.

V. Since, therefore, it has been proved from scripture, that all the apostles were EQUAL and SUPREME; since this position is confirmed by catholic tradition; since the interpretation of the texts alleged by Roman theologians to prove Peter's official primacy, are not certain or *de fide*, but are doubted even in their own communion; and since, in fine, the more probable interpretation of those texts, and the passages alleged by Romanists from the fathers, only establish the personal pre-eminence of St. Peter: we may conclude that the official primacy

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[q] Concil. Chalced. Act. III.

[r] Leo, Sermo iii. de Assumptione sua ad Pontificatum.

or supremacy of St. Peter cannot possibly be a matter of faith, and that it is altogether unfounded.

It is very true that Bellarmine says, that the denial of St. Peter's primacy, according to his view of it, is "a most pernicious heresy." It is also true that Bailly, Bouvier, Delahogue, affirm that St. Peter's primacy of jurisdiction over the other apostles is *de fide;* but I have elsewhere shown, that assertions of this kind are not sufficient to prove that there is either error or heresy in holding the contrary doctrine.[8]

OBJECTIONS.

In reply to the passages from St. Cyprian, and other fathers, asserting the equality of the other apostles with Peter, it is said by Tournely, Bailly, Delahogue, &c., "that the other apostles were equal to St. Peter in the *intrinsic and essential* apostolical authority, as to the power of teaching everywhere, ministering the sacraments, ordaining pastors, &c.: but that they were not equal in the *extrinsic and accidental* authority, and as to the mode of exercising that power."

Answer. I argue directly from this reply, that St. Peter had no official primacy or supremacy over the other apostles; for if he had been endued by Christ with an official superiority and jurisdiction over them, either separately or collectively; while they had no jurisdiction over him or over one another: there would have been an *essential and intrinsic difference* between his authority and theirs. But this is denied. Ergo, &c.

[8] See Part IV. chap. vi.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DURATION OF ST. PETER'S PRE-EMINENCE.

It is the next assertion of Roman theologians, that the pre-eminence of St. Peter among the apostles, was an ordinary office, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ in the church, and which was always to continue. But if the conclusions of the preceding chapter are admitted, it is clear that St. Peter's peculiar privileges could not pass to any successors. The church once founded by him could never be founded again. The keys with which he first unclosed the gates of the kingdom of heaven to Jews and Gentiles, could never be employed in the same manner by any one else. As to his personal pre-eminence founded on his love of Christ, and more zealous discharge of the apostolical office; this is not claimed by any one. We may therefore justly say with Tertullian: "Qualis es, everteus atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem *personaliter* hoc Petro conferentem?"[a]

Let us consider the principal arguments adduced by Bellarmine,[b] and the other Roman theologians, to prove the permanence of St. Peter's pre-eminence in the church.

I. The primacy of St. Peter was to be a permanent office in the church, because the reason for which it was instituted was to *preserve unity*; and this being a permanent object, the office which was instituted for it must have been so likewise.

Answer. No scriptural proof has ever been adduced in support of this theory of the *reason* of instituting St. Peter's pre-

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[a] Tertullian. de Pudicitia, c. 21.

[b] Bellarminus de Romano Pontifice, lib. ii. c. 12; Bailly, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 174; Hooke, Relig. Nat. et Rev. t. iii. p. 265.

eminence. I repeat it, there is *no evidence from scripture* that the *preservation of unity* was the reason: and this being the case, it follows from the principles of Veron, Bossuet, and the best Roman theologians,[c] that this pretended "reason" cannot be a matter of faith, and cannot found an article of faith. I maintain that the reason of instituting St. Peter's pre-eminence has not been revealed: it can only be conjectured: and though St. Jerome, and perhaps one or two others, support the view of the Romanists; this cannot make their opinion a matter of certainty.

II. A chief pontiff cannot be less necessary to the church now than at the beginning: there is even greater necessity, because Christians are more numerous and less holy than at first. Therefore, as St. Peter was chief pontiff then, he must have successors in all ages.

Answer. I have already shown that the apostles were equal and supreme; and that St. Peter's pre-eminence consisted in points which were either incapable of being transmitted to another, or which no one else claims.

III. The church is one body and must have a visible head; for the apostle, in speaking of the church, 1 Cor. xii. says, "The head cannot say to the feet I have no need of you." The head here spoken of cannot be Christ, because he *might* say to all men that he had no need of them: it cannot be any one but Peter: nor should the church remain without a head after Peter's death.

Answer. The "head" in this place signifies that portion of the Christian church which exceeds the rest either in power, authority, sanctity, wealth, or any other gift. The meaning is, that every Christian, be his station what it may, is to esteem himself a member of one body; and to love, and sympathize with all its members.

IV. The succession of high-priests in the Old Testament, is a type of what was to occur in the Christian church.

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[c] See page 21—23, of this volume.

Answer. The fathers teach that the high-priests were types of Jesus Christ, and after him of the bishops of the catholic church, who were all termed "*Summi Sacerdotes.*"[d]

V. The church is termed in scripture a sheepfold, a kingdom, a body. But a sheepfold infers a shepherd; a kingdom, a king; a body, a head; and admitting that Christ is the invisible pastor, king, and head of the church, still the visible church must have a visible head.

Answer. The church is not literally, but figuratively, a sheepfold, &c. These expressions only imply that it is an orderly *society:* but it is not essential to a society to have one visible chief: many states have subsisted without monarchy.

VI. The appointment of a chief pastor in the church would be highly conducive to its unity and order. This has been admitted even by eminent protestants, such as Melancthon, Grotius, &c. Therefore, God would not have left his church devoid of so great a benefit.

I reply with Bossuet, that "we must not rest upon mere reasonings or wishes, but on *certain promises,* and *certain tradition.* If it be our pleasure to wish, or rather to dream, we might expect that the Roman pontiff should be not only free from error, but from sin, ignorance, negligence, or cupidity. We might ask why, when Christ said to his apostles, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world,' the bishops were not, like the apostles, to enjoy the promise of unfailing faith?"[e]

In conclusion, then, it may be affirmed, that there is no evidence that St. Peter's pre-eminence was instituted for any *permanent* object, or was to be transmitted to others. These

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[d] [There is no *such* unity in the church catholic, as in the Jewish church. *That* unity is kept up in each individual diocese—a church by itself. The unity of all the dioceses in one whole is (1) by invisible communion with the Head in heaven, (2) by the common root (the stirps una) from which all derive.)

[e] Bossuet, Defens. Declar. Cler. Gall. lib. x. c. 36.

cannot by any means be proved matters of faith: and therefore, even if we were to concede that St. Peter was invested with such a primacy over the apostles as is pretended, the *divine right* of the Roman primacy would not be established; because St. Peter's primacy might have been instituted not for the unity of the church, or for any other *permanent* object, but as a reward of his own faith, love, and zeal for Christ.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

We have now considered sufficiently the two first members of the Roman argument; *viz.* that St. Peter was given by Christ an official primacy of honour and power over the other apostles, and that this primacy was always to continue in the church. Let us now proceed to the third branch of the argument, *viz.* that the church has always believed the bishops of Rome successors of Peter in this primacy by divine right; and that they have exercised it accordingly from the earliest ages.

I deny both these propositions: and in the present chapter shall prove, that the pre-eminence of the Roman church may be sufficiently accounted for, without any divine institution; and that tradition is silent as to any such institution. In the next chapter I shall consider the pretended exercise of this primacy.

I. The superiority of the Roman see to all others, was founded on the following circumstances, relating peculiarly to the Roman church.

(1.) The number of its clergy and people. Even in the time of the severest persecution under Decius, Pope Cornelius wrote to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, that, "by the providence of God, it had a rich and plentiful number of clergy, with a most great and innumerable people,"[a] so that he reckons forty-four presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two other inferior clergy, and above 1500 widows and alms people. Cyprian, in writing to Cornelius,

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[a] Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας, πλούσιός τε καὶ πλνθύων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 43.

bishop of Rome, speaks of "the most flourishing clergy presiding with him, and the most holy and numerous people."[b] Irenæus speaks of the Roman church as "*maximæ*" very great.[c]

(2.) Its wealth and charity. The opulence of the Roman see was so great, that it is especially noted by Ammianus Marcellinus, as having been the cause of a violent schism, when Damasus and Ursinus contended for that see.[d] However, this wealth had been expended in works of charity from an early period. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, writing to the Roman church in the time of Soter, eleventh bishop of Rome, about the middle of the second century, says, that "it had been customary with them *from the beginning*, to benefit all the brethren in various ways; and to send assistance to many churches in all cities, thus relieving the poverty of the needy; and to supply aid to the brethren condemned to the mines, by the gifts which they had sent even *from the beginning;* that they preserved as Romans, the custom of the Romans delivered to them by their fathers; and that their blessed bishop Soter had not only observed this custom, but had increased it by supplying abundantly the provision allotted to the saints, and by comforting with blessed words the brethren who came to him, even as a loving father acts towards his children."[e] The same mercy and charity of the Roman church is mentioned by Dionysius Alexandrinus, in the following century, in an epistle to Stephen, where he states that all Syria and Arabia had received supplies from Rome.[f] It is not wonderful that this wealth so well applied, should conciliate universal respect towards the Roman church.

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[b] "Et quanquam sciam frater pro mutua delectione quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, et sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere te semper literas nostras," &c. Cyprian. Epist. 55. ad Cornel.

[c] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

[d] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 27.

[e] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 23.

[f] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 4.

(3.) Its apostolical origin. The universal tradition of the church ascribes the foundation or first government of the Roman church to the apostles Peter and Paul, who were the greatest of the apostles. Thus Irenæus speaks of the Roman church as "the very great, ancient, and universally known church, founded by the two glorious apostles Peter and Paul."[g] The synod of Antioch acknowledged that, in writings "all did willingly honour the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the school of the apostles, and the metropolis of religion."[h] The Roman church was particularly honoured, as having been presided over by Peter, the first of the apostles, and was, therefore, by many of the fathers, called the see of Peter.

(4.) The purity of its faith. Irenæus testifies that the true faith was continually preserved in the Roman church by the resort of Christians from all parts to the imperial city.[i] In fact, we find that the Roman church was zealous to maintain the true faith from the earliest period; condemning and expelling the Gnostics, Artemonites, &c. And during the Arian mania, it was the bulwark of the catholic faith.

(5.) The temporal dignity of the city of Rome. The council of Chalcedon declared that the elder Rome had obtained privileges on account of its being the imperial city.[k] Theodoret in his epistle to Leo, speaks of this city as the greatest and most splendid, and as presiding over the world; abounding with a multitude of people; and which had produced the empire now governing.[l] Cyprian also assigns this as a reason for honouring the Roman church.[m]

These various circumstances united and centering in Rome

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[g] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

[h] Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 8.

[i] Irenæus, ibid.

[k] Concil. Chalced. can. xxviii. See Routh, Opuscula.

[l] Theodoret. Epist. 113. ad Leon.

[m] "Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debet Carthaginem Roma præcedere." —Cypr. Epist. 49.

alone of all churches, gave that church from the beginning a pre-eminence.[n] The bishop of Rome in the third century possessed jurisdiction over a great part of Italy, which was confirmed by the council of Nice.[o] The council of Sardica conferred particular privileges on the Roman see in the fourth century; and the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, Justinian, and others, acknowledged its primacy, and gave various powers and prerogatives to the bishops of Rome; but it would be a mistake to contend that the pre-eminence of the Roman church was derived altogether from the decrees of emperors, or from the canons of councils, though it was much increased by such causes. It was founded on the possession of attributes which, collectively, belonged to no other church whatever.

Hence, we may see the reason for which the bishops of Rome were styled SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER by some of the fathers. They were bishops of the particular church which St. Peter had assisted in founding, and over which he had presided: and they were also, as bishops of the principal church, the *most eminent* among the successors of the apostles; even as St. Peter had possessed the pre-eminence among the apostles themselves.

II. The circumstances above mentioned sufficiently account for the early pre-eminence of the Roman church: but I now proceed to show, that this pre-eminence did not arise from its being believed, that the pre-eminence of St. Peter had descended to the bishop of Rome by *divine right*. It may be proved to a *moral certainty*, that catholic tradition does not acknowledge

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[n] [To this may be added, that the situation of Rome, as *the only* church in the Western Empire of indubitable *apostolical foundation and succession*, gave it in that part of Christendom (where alone it has ever been able to substantiate its pretensions) a quite peculiar position, highly favourable to the operation of the other enumerated causes of pre-eminence. The passages cited by Romanists from Irenæus, Tertullian and Cyprian, all have reference to this *exclusive apostolicity* of Rome among the western churches.]

[o] See the Chapter on the Roman Patriarchate.

the Roman pontiff in any peculiar sense beyond other bishops,[p] the successor of Peter by divine right: because the passages collected from the fathers, &c. by the Roman controversialists to establish this position, are generally SILENT on the point. These passages may be divided into five classes. Those which simply assert the pre-eminence of the Roman church: those which assert the pre-eminence of the chair of Peter and of the Roman pontiff the successor of Peter, without reference to any divine institution: those which refer to the authority of the Roman pontiff as considerable in the church, or are otherwise irrelevant: those which are not genuine: and lastly, certain expressions of Roman bishops and clergy anxious to honour their own church.

1. In the first class may be placed several passages which I shall only briefly allude to, as it would take up too much space to cite them at full length. Irenæus says that "all churches must resort to the Roman on account of its powerful primacy."[q] Augustine says, "the primacy of the apostolical chair always flourished in the Roman church."[r] Vincentius Lirinensis says, that pope Stephen exceeded other bishops "in the authority of his place."[s] Prosper calls Rome the "head of pastoral honour in the world."[t] The synod of Constantinople gave to the bishop of that imperial city the privilege of honour *after* the bishop of Rome.[u] Fulgentius speaks of it as "the summit of the world."[v] The synod of Aquileia terms it the "head of the whole Roman world."[w]

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p [Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, envoys, together with the presbyter Philip, from the West to the Council of Ephesus, were recognized by Cyril, the president, as τον τοπον αναπληρουντες της αποστολικης καθεδρας, και ἁπασης δε της κατα την δυσιν ἁγιας συνοδου των θεοφιλεστατων και ἁγιωτατων επισκοπων. Conc. Eph. Part II. Act. iii. Conc. ed. Rom. I. 411. B.]

q Iren. lib. iii. c. 3.

r August. Epist. 43. al. 162.

s Vincent. Lirin. Common. c. 6.

t Prosper, Carmen de Ingratis, c. ii.

u Synod. Const. can. 2.

v Fulgentius, de Incarn. et Grat. c. 11.

w Synod. Aquil. Epist. ad Imperat. Theodos.

2. Amongst those passages which simply assert the pre-eminence of the chair of Peter and of the Roman bishop, without allusion to any divine institution, are the following. Ignatius addresses his epistle to "the church which presides in the *country of the Romans*."[x] Cyprian styles it "the chair of Peter and the principal church where ecclesiastical unity took its rise."[y] Eusebius says, "Linus was the first, who after Peter obtained the see of Rome."[z] Optatus speaks of "one chair," in which "Peter sat first, to whom succeeded Linus . . to Damasus, Siricius, who is now our associate; together with whom the whole world communicates with us."[a] The synod of Sardica spoke of the Roman see as "the head; the see of Peter."[b]

3. Other passages refer simply to the authority of the Roman see, or are otherwise irrelevant. Tertullian, inviting an appeal to the various apostolic churches says, "If you are near to Italy, you have Rome, whose authority is also near at hand for us. Happy church! which the great apostles fully impregnated with all their doctrine,"[c] &c. He also terms the bishop of Rome a "high priest," an "apostolic prelate,"[d] &c. Cyprian exhorts those sailing to Rome, to acknowledge in Cornelius, "the root" of "the catholic church;" and speaks of his communion as "the unity of the catholic church,"[e] meaning that Cornelius was the legitimate bishop of the catholic church at Rome, where at that time there was a schismatical bishop. Basil says he had written to the bishop of Rome, that he might see their circumstances, and "interpose the decree of his judgment."[f] Theodoret wrote to Renatus that the Roman see "had the leadership over all churches;"[g] and to St. Leo that he "waited the sentence of his apostolical see."[h] Cyril Alexan-

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[x] Ignat. Epist. ad Rom.
[y] Cypr. Ep. 55. ad Concil.
[z] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 4.
[a] Optat. de Schism. Donat. lib. ii.
[b] Syn. Sardic. Ep. ad Jul. Rom.
[c] Tertull. Præscript. c. 32. 36.
[d] Tertull. de Monogam.
[e] Cypr. Ep. ad Cornel.
[f] Basil. Epist. 52.
[g] Theodoret. Epist. 116. ad Renat.
[h] Theodoret. Epist. ad S. Leonem.

drinus calls Cælestine of Rome "archbishop of the whole world."[i] Jerome, writing to pope Damasus, says, "I am united to your blessedness, that is, to the chair of Peter. On that rock I know the church is built."[k] The council of Ephesus in their decree against Nestorius, said that they were "compelled by the sacred canons and the epistle" of pope Cælestinus to depose him.[l] The council of Chalcedon wrote to pope Leo, that "the guardianship of the vineyard was committed to him by the Saviour,"[m] (*i. e.* by his providence in permitting that bishop to occupy so eminent a position in the church): and that "he was their leader as a head over the members,"[n] (*i. e.* he had been their leader in condemning heresy). The same synod, after hearing the epistle of Leo, said, "Peter hath spoken by Leo"[o] (*i. e.* the orthodox doctrine of St. Peter has been taught by his successor). Chrysologus: "We exhort thee to attend with obedience to all things written to thee by the most blessed pope of the Roman city, since St. Peter, who lives and presides in his own see, affords the true faith to all who inquire of him."[p]

4. Other passages are spurious. Thus, a canon of the synod of Nice is alleged to commence with: "the Roman see always had the primacy."[q] This is an interpolation which was detected in the council of Chalcedon. Athanasius writes to pope Felix that "Christ had placed him and his predecessors on the summit of the ark, and willed them to take the care of all churches."[r] Cyril of Alexandria: "We ought all as members to adhere to our head, the Roman pontiff and the apostolic see."[s] It is

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[i] Cyril. Alex. Encom. in S. Mar. Virg.

[k] Hieron. Ep. xiv. ad Damasum. [l] Concil. Ephes. Act. i.

[m] Concil. Chalced. Epist. ad Leon.

[n] Ibid. [o] Act. ii. [p] Chrysol. Epist. ad Eutych. Hæret.

[q] Concil. Nicen. can. vi. Vide Beveregii Pandect. Justelli Biblioth. Jur. Canon.

[r] Athanas. Epist. ad Felicem. Rejected by the Benedictine edition of St. Athanasius' works.

[s] Cyril. Alex. in Libro Thesauri.

rather unfortunate for Romanists that these passages, (which are *perpetually* quoted by them,) are not genuine; for they are some of the best for their purposes, that have ever been adduced.

5. The remaining proofs are from certain expressions of Roman bishops and presbyters, who were influenced by a pardonable desire to honour their particular church; but which represent merely their private and peculiar doctrines. In the synod of Ephesus, Philip, legate of the Roman see, said, that "Peter, the prince and head of the apostles, the pillar of faith, and foundation of the catholic church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ the keys of the kingdom . . . who to this very time, and always, lives in his successors and exercises judgment."[t] In the council of Chalcedon, the Roman legate Paschasinus said, that the Roman was "the head of all churches."[u] St. Leo affirmed that "the Lord willed the see of Rome to preside over all others."[v] These and similar expressions of Roman bishops can have little weight.

Such are the chief passages selected by Tournely, Bailly, Hooke, Collet, De le Luzerne, Delahogue, Bouvier, Milner, Berington, &c. in proof that the Roman primacy is of divine institution, and derived from the privileges given to St. Peter by our Lord Jesus Christ.

They concur, indeed, to prove the pre-eminence of the Roman church, its dignity, its superiority of power, all which we most fully and unequivocally admit that it possessed from a very early period. But this is not the point in debate. The point attempted to be proved by all these quotations is, that the Roman primacy is DE JURE DIVINO; that it is *derived from St. Peter by divine institution:* and on this point catholic tradition is profoundly silent. Therefore, since it cannot be proved from tradition, as it confessedly cannot from scripture, it is no article of faith, notwithstanding the rash assertion of some modern theologians to the contrary.

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[t] Concil. Ephes. Act. iii.
[u] Concil. Chalced. Act. i.
[v] Leo, Epist. 93. al. 62.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN PONTIFF HAS NOT, JURE DIVINO, ANY ORDINARY JURISDICTION OVER THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

JURISDICTION, properly so called, consists not merely in a persuasive influence and authority without coercion, but in a coercive power, to which obedience is due, and which can enforce its acts by penalties. I maintain that the bishop of Rome has not, either *jure divino*, or by immemorial and universal exercise, any such jurisdiction over the catholic church; and I hope to show, that this conclusion is legitimately deduced from principles which are entirely free from censure even in the Roman church itself. In speaking of this jurisdiction also, I do not mean to deny, that in extraordinary circumstances, when the faith is endangered, and when a great necessity exists, the bishop of Rome, and all other bishops, may exercise their office in any part of the church. I am now speaking of ordinary jurisdiction.

SECTION I.

THE ROMAN BISHOP HAS NOT, JURE DIVINO, ANY ORDINARY JURISDICTION OVER THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF OTHER BISHOPS.

In maintaining this proposition, I shall adopt the arguments of Bailly, a Roman theologian of the highest credit in his own communion. He says, "Jure communi ac Christi instituto, S. Pontifex immediatam jurisdictionem in alienis diœcesibus non habet, neque in illis episcoporum munia ordinarie exercere potest."[a] This is proved from constant tradition and the consent

[a] Bailly, Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi, t. ii. p. 310, &c.

of the pontiffs themselves. Thus St. Leo (Epist. 84. Epist. ad Jul. Coens. Epist. 77.) acknowledges that each bishop has jurisdiction over his own people. The council of Carthage, in 525, after the example of preceding African synods, forbad any appeals to the apostolic see. St. Gregory the great (lib. ix. ep. 22. al. xi. ep. 22.) says, "Si sua unicuique episcopo jurisdictio non servetur, quid aliud agitur nisi ut per nos per quos ecclesiasticus custodiri debuit ordo confundatur?" The councils of Salingestadt, A. D. 1022, cap. 18, Limoges, A. D. 1031, Aquileia, in the twelfth century, Lambeth in the thirteenth, forbad penitents and offenders to go to Rome for absolution unless their bishops permitted it. The council of Rheims of 200 bishops, in the twelfth century, would not confirm the privileges granted by Calixtus II. to the monastery of Clugny, to the prejudice of the diocesan; though the Roman pontiff himself was present. John XVIII. having sent, in 1004, cardinal Peter to consecrate a church in the diocese of Tours, which had been built contrary to the will of the bishop, "all the bishops of France," says Glaberius, a contemporary writer, "detested it," since "it was confirmed by abundant authority of old, that no bishop should presume to do so in the diocese of another, unless by his request or permission." Other facts and monuments innumerable are referred to by Bailly, in the works of Baluzius, Fleury, the Mémoires du Clergé, Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée de 1682, to prove that these principles have been always adhered to by the Gallican church. The Faculty of Theology frequently declared, that the Roman pontiff had no ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in all dioceses; especially in its censure of Vernantius, A. D. 1666. Of the same sentiment were Hincmar (t. ii. ed. Sirm. p. 608. 436, 437.), the celebrated archbishop of Grenada, in the council of Trent (Palavit. Hist. C. T. lib. xv. c. 16.) Petavius, Thomassinus, (t. ii. discipl. par. iv. lib. i. c. i. n. 19.), Fleury (Hist. Eccl. lib. lviii. n. 51. lib. lxxxiv. n. 42. lib. xciii. n. 43.), the continuer of Tournely, (t. vi. p. 607. de præc. Eccl. c. iv. de 4 præc.). Bailly concludes, that "the pontiff is pastor

of the universal church in this sense; *i. e.* in *urgent necessity*, and in certain *extraordinary circumstances*, he may provide for various churches, and supply them with confessors or preachers." This we fully admit: the same right is vested in every catholic bishop in case of necessity.

In fact, if the Roman pontiff were entitled to act episcopally whenever he pleased in any diocese, he would be really "universal bishop," a title which Gregory the great condemned as blasphemous. Such a principle would be entirely opposed to the whole discipline of the church, which has always believed each bishop to be invested with the immediate care of his own flock by the Holy Ghost. We may conclude then, not only that the pontiff has no ordinary jurisdiction over the clergy and people of other bishops, but that this doctrine is altogether free from censure in the Roman church.

SECTION II.

THE ROMAN BISHOP HAS NOT, JURE DIVINO, ANY ORDINARY JURISDICTION OVER OTHER BISHOPS.

The jurisdiction claimed as of divine right for the Roman pontiff over other bishops, may be distributed into three parts, *viz.* legislative, judicial, and administrative or executive: under these divisions I shall proceed to examine it.

I. The Roman pontiff has not, by divine right, any coercive LEGISLATIVE power over other bishops.

1. He cannot make any decrees of faith, morals, and discipline, which are absolutely binding on other bishops. This principle is maintained as relates to questions of *faith and morals*, by the fourth Gallican article of 1682, where it is said that, "In questions of faith, the pontiff has a principal part, and his decrees extend to all churches, and to every church in particular; but that his judgment is not irreformable, unless the consent of the church be added." This article is most convincingly defended by Bossuet, as founded on catholic tradi-

tion.[b] In fact, as Bailly observes, it has always been the doctrine of the Gallican church, that "it is the right of *bishops* to judge in matters of faith."[c] Delahogue proves that "*bishops* alone are, *jure divino*, necessary judges of controversies of faith."[d] Consequently, the judgment of *controversies of faith* cannot be amongst the "*majores causæ*" alleged to be reserved to the Roman pontiff *jure divino;* nor can bishops be under any obligation to refer such causes in the first instance to him; nor can they be bound to believe whatever the Roman pontiff may choose to decree in faith and morals; more especially as Delahogue proves, that "It may, with sound faith, and without any note of error or schism, be denied, that the Roman pontiff, even speaking *ex cathedra*, has the gift of infallibility."[e] This being the case, it is evident, that whatever respect may be due by bishops to the judgments of the Roman pontiff concerning faith, it is not such a respect as to prevent them from exercising their own right as *judges* of faith *divino jure*, and either accepting or rejecting the papal decrees, as they are accordant or not with scripture and tradition.

The same observations may be applied to papal laws of *discipline*. The second Gallican article of 1682, maintains the doctrine of the council of Constance, that the Roman pontiff's authority is inferior to that of a general council; and the third article concludes from this principle, that "the exercise of the apostolical power (of the Roman see) is to be limited by the *canons* made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world; and also that the rules, customs, and institutions received by the Gallican church and kingdom, are of authority; and that the boundaries of the fathers remain unshaken." This proposition, which denies the right of the Roman pontiff to make binding regulations in *discipline* con-

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[b] Bossuet, Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallicani.

[c] Bailly, ut supra, t. ii. p. 308.

[d] Delahogue, Tract. de Eccl. Christi, p. 386. [e] Ibid.

trary to the laws of general councils, or to the canons and customs of particular churches, is defended by Bossuet, Tournely, &c.; and Bailly says, that among the liberties of the Gallican church, it is reckoned that, "It belongs to *bishops* to make decrees in matters pertaining to *discipline*;" that the Roman pontiff "cannot at pleasure dispense with the canons, but only for just causes;" and that "he cannot derogate from the laws or customs of provinces, nor even from the legitimate privileges of particular churches."[f] Bailly observes, that "the intention even of universal synods, in making laws of discipline, is not to subvert the rules, customs, and institutions of particular churches, which are founded on the tradition of the fathers, and are not injurious to the peace of the church; and although the exception be not always expressly made in the decree, yet it is always to be presumed to be conceded *ipso jure*, and by the will of the fathers themselves present in synod."[g] In fact, we know that many rules of discipline, made by the pontiffs, have not been universally received by their churches. Several points in the canon law are not received in France and elsewhere. The bull *in Cœna Domini* is not generally acknowledged; and even the discipline of Trent, approved by the popes, is but imperfectly admitted in the Roman obedience. Therefore, the pontiff's laws of discipline are not binding on other bishops, unless by their own consent and approbation.

2. The Roman pontiff cannot *annul the laws of other bishops*. It has been shown above, that according to the doctrine and practice of the Roman churches, all bishops are judges of faith and morals, and are authorized to make laws of discipline; that the Roman pontiff cannot annul or derogate from those laws; and that he is even subject to the canons made by general councils, and can only dispense with them in case of necessity: but necessity would justify any bishop in dispensing

[f] Bailly, De Eccl. Christi, t. ii. p. 309. [g] Ibid. p. 307.

with such laws: for instance, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and other holy bishops, ordained clergy in the dioceses of other bishops, during the times of Arianism, which was absolutely contrary to all the canons.

II. The Roman pontiff has not, by divine right, any coercive JUDICIAL power over other bishops. One of the most important prerogatives claimed for the Roman pontiff is the right to judge bishops, either in the first instance, or by appeal from other bishops. Delahogue says, that some of the Roman theologians "contend that appeals of bishops are only *de jure ecclesiastico*."[h] Du Pin, a Roman catholic author of high eminence, has treated this subject very fully. He proves at considerable length, that from the earliest period to the time of the synod of Nice, "all causes were terminated on the spot, and that no appeal to the Roman pontiff was permitted to those who were condemned."[i] He argues that, according to the fifth canon of the œcumenical synod of Nice, the definitive judgment of bishops is given to the provincial synods, without any further appeal;[k] that this was confirmed by the second œcumenical synod;[l] that the African bishops understood it to be so in the time of Pope Cælestinus,[m] as did Pope Innocentius I.; that the same doctrine was held by St. Cyprian,[n] and by the synod of Antioch;[o] though in the latter there was some change of discipline, since it was determined that if any bishop, deposed by a provincial synod, should petition the emperor to be restored, those who had condemned him should call a larger synod, in order that his cause might be re-examined there, and no excuse be left to him.[p] Du Pin adds, that the orientals obstinately refused to permit appeals to the west;[q] and that

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[h] Delahogue, p. 382.

[i] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 141—156.

[k] Du Pin, p. 96.

[l] Ibid. p. 98.

[m] Ibid. p. 99.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid. p. 100.

[p] Ibid. p. 101.

[q] Ibid. p. 102.

according to St. Ambrose, all the causes of the east and west should be terminated in their own synods respectively.[r]

The synod of Sardica, he says, introduced a new discipline, permitting a bishop deposed by a provincial synod to solicit the bishop of Rome to examine his cause; and allowing the latter, if he judged the case not to have been sufficiently examined in the province, to send it back for a re-hearing, with the assistance of some bishops from the next province.[s] According to this rule, the cause was not decided at Rome, or by the Roman pontiff. Du Pin shows that this discipline of Sardica was never received in the East, and only very late in the West.[t]

It is needless to proceed further with Du Pin in the history of appeals.[u] It is clear from this, that the Roman pontiff has not any divine right to *judge* bishops, either in the first instance or by appeal. Whatever power he acquired in these respects afterwards, was entirely by custom and the concession of churches. If the pontiff has no divine right to receive appeals from provincial synods, he can of course have no right to reverse their judgments. We may therefore conclude, that he has no judicial power over other bishops.

III. The Roman pontiff has not, by divine right, any coercive EXECUTIVE power over other bishops. Under this head may be classed his powers in reference to general synods, the appointment of bishops, erection of sees, enforcing the canons, &c.

Among the principal powers of the bishop of Rome, claimed as of divine right, are the assembling, presiding in, and confirming of œcumenical synods. It has been proved by Launoy, Bossuet, Du Pin, &c. that the eight first synods, acknowledged as œcumenical by Rome, were assembled, not by the pope,

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[r] Ibid. p. 103. [s] Ibid. p. 106. [t] Ibid. p. 113.

[u] Du Pin's doctrine on this subject is also firmly supported by Fleury, Quatrième Discours sur l'Hist .Ecclésiastique.

but by the emperors.[v] Richerius and Launoy have proved that no Roman legate presided in the synod of Nice.[w] At the second œcumenical synod, Timothy of Alexandria presided;[x] at the fifth, no one was present on the part of the bishop of Rome. As to the papal confirmation of œcumenical synods, Bailly says, after Bossuet, that the synods of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, &c., were universally received at once; that no confirmation of the Roman see was solicited; that confirmation of the decrees of synods implies only their assertion and vindication; and that the decrees of the Roman pontiffs themselves were "confirmed" by general or particular synods.[y] The Gallican theologians hold that an œcumenical council has irrefragable authority without any papal confirmation, or even though the bishop of Rome be opposed to its decrees.[z] Therefore, the Roman pontiffs have no divine right to summon, preside in, or confirm œcumenical synods: for, if they had possessed it, they would have always exercised it, and the church would not have allowed any one else to have invaded their divine privilege.

It has been proved by Thomassin and De Marca, archbishop of Paris, that the *election* and *consecration* of bishops and metropolitans, were almost universally vested in the bishops and clergy, not in the Roman pontiff, for at least a thousand years after Christ.[a] Thomassin proves, that for thirteen centuries the bishops in the greater part of the West, were *confirmed* by their metropolitans; and that the metropolitans themselves were confirmed by provincial synods.[b] The same writer and Fleury show, that *translations* of bishops were generally made by the authority of provincial synods.[c] Of the *judg-*

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[v] See Part IV.

[w] See Part IV. chap. ix. sect. 1.

[x] Ibid. sect. 2.

[y] Bailly, De Eccl. t. ii. p. 263, 264.

[z] See above, p. 146.

[a] Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. t. ii. lib. ii.; De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. iv. c. 4.

[b] Thomassin. ibid.

[c] Thomassin. t. ii. lib. ii. c. 62; Fleury, Disc. iv. sur l'Hist. Eccl.

ments and *deposing* of bishops, I have already spoken in the preceding article, and shown that it belonged to provincial synods. Thomassin proves that in the appointment of *coadjutors* to bishops, it was not usual before the year 1000, to have recourse to the Roman see, but to provincial synods.[d] The same author shows that for the first eight centuries, *resignations* of bishoprics were not made to the Roman pontiff, but to provincial synods, or to emperors, kings, or metropolitans.[e] Therefore, none of these "*causæ majores*" of bishops belong to the Roman pontiff *de jure divino.*

Thomassin and Fleury prove that the *erection of new sees* and metropoles was vested for many centuries in provincial and patriarchal synods, and in patriarchs and monarchs.[f] The second and fourth œcumenical synods erected the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Emperor Justinian erected the see of Justiniana into an exarchate or patriarchate. Fleury says there is no sufficient evidence to attribute the *union or extinction of bishoprics* to the Roman pontiff only.[g]

Another privilege claimed for the Roman pontiff, is the right to oblige all bishops to observe the canons, by ecclesiastical censures. I have before shown, that he has no divine right to judge or depose other bishops, or to make regulations binding on them: therefore, he cannot have any right in the way of jurisdiction or coercive power, to force them to obey the canons: but he may fraternally admonish them, and in case of their continuing incorrigible, may separate them from the communion of his church. The same right also belongs to all bishops of the catholic church, and does not infer any assumption of *jurisdiction* over other bishops, but merely the common interest which every Christian pastor has in the welfare of the whole Christian community.

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[d] Ibid. c. 57, 58.

[e] Ibid. t. ii. lib. i. c. 50. 52.

[f] Ibid. t. i. lib. i. c. 54. &c. Fleury, ibid.

[g] Fleury, Disc. iv. sur l'Hist. Eccl.

Another privilege claimed for the Roman pontiff is, that nothing of importance should be transacted in the church, without referring to him. It has been shown above, that provincial synods were competent to take cognizance, not only of all causes relating to bishops, but even of controversies of *faith and morals:* and that it was the principle of the Gallican church, that bishops are, *jure divino*, judges in controversies of faith. Therefore, synods may act in the *most important* causes, as they have done in innumerable instances, without previously consulting the Roman pontiff; and if they inform him afterwards of their proceedings, which was usually done out of respect to that apostolic see, and that the chief bishop might make known their proceedings to other churches; this does not infer any *jurisdiction* in the Roman pontiff, but is merely an exercise of fraternal charity and communion: and the same notification was often made to other churches, as well as to that of Rome.

IV. I have now shown, that according to doctrines avowed without censure in the Roman obedience, by the Gallican church, and by their most learned and eminent theologians, the Roman pontiff has not, by divine right, any ordinary jurisdiction over the clergy and people subject to other bishops. I have shown in the same manner, that he has no divine right to make laws of faith, morals, or discipline, compulsory on other bishops; that he cannot annul or derogate from such laws made by other bishops; that he has no divine right to judge or depose other bishops, either in the first instance, or on appeal; no divine right to reverse the judgments of provincial synods; to summon, preside in, or confirm œcumenical synods; to appoint, confirm, consecrate, translate, judge, or depose bishops; none to appoint coadjutors, or accept resignation of sees; none to erect new sees and metropoles; none to force bishops to observe the canons; none to be consulted on every measure of importance in the church. And hence, it follows inevitably, that the Roman bishop has not, by divine right, any ordinary jurisdiction, properly so called, over the universal church; and that this

conclusion is a sound and an orthodox conclusion, accordant with the doctrine of the Roman church itself.

It is vain to adduce, in reply to this, any instances, in which the Roman pontiffs are alleged to have exercised jurisdiction over other bishops, during the first five or six centuries. We do not deny that several such cases may be pointed out, in some of which the Roman pontiffs acted within their own patriarchate, in others exceeded their privileges, in others were justified by *extraordinary* circumstances, such as the prevalence of heresy; but these do not affect our argument, which is, that according to the most learned Roman theologians, the Roman pontiff did not *generally* or *ordinarily* exercise any jurisdiction over all other bishops. This being the case, he could not have possessed any such jurisdiction *jure divino;* for if he had, God would not have permitted it to be usurped by others: the supposition would be inconsistent with the promises of Jesus Christ to be always with his church.

It is equally vain to allege, as the Ultramontanes do, that provincial synods and particular bishops exercised these powers in the first ages, by *dispensation* from the Roman see, because of the difficulty of communicating with that see in times of persecution. For not only is it a mere assumption, a baseless theory, that the provincial synods and bishops ever had any dispensation or permission from Rome for such acts; but it is plain, that the correspondence between all churches was never more frequent than in the time of persecution, as we may see by the writings of Cyprian alone; and further, that provincial synods and bishops remained in the full exercise of that jurisdiction which is now claimed for the Roman see, for many centuries after the church was relieved from persecution, and protected by Christian princes.

Though, as I have observed, the argument of this chapter is not affected by the production of any instances of the exercise of jurisdiction in other churches by the Roman bishop, yet I shall briefly notice the principal examples adduced by

Delahogue, Milner, Tournely, De La Luzerne, Bailly, Berington, and others.

OBJECTIONS.

Several of the Roman pontiffs at various times have exercised various acts of jurisdiction over other churches.

(1) Victor excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate the Asiatic churches, in consequence of their adherence to their custom of celebrating Easter. I *reply*, that the Asiatic churches did not obey the pontiff's command, but retained their custom until the council of Nice ; and were acknowledged always as a portion of the catholic church. S. Irenæus and others blamed Victor for insisting on their adopting another custom. (2) Stephen of Rome excommunicated Cyprian and the African bishops for their practice in rebaptizing heretics. I *answer*, that the Africans retained their custom notwithstanding, and were in full communion with all the rest of the church. Therefore, the church generally, did not hold it necessary to obey the Roman pontiff's commands. (3) Cyprian wrote to pope Stephen urging him to depose Marcianus, a schismatical bishop of Gaul, and to appoint another bishop in his place. I *answer* with Du Pin,[a] that he only requested him to write to the people of Arles and the Gallican bishops, to appoint another bishop in his stead ; and that this does not infer any peculiar prerogative in the Roman bishop, but only a charitable solicitude for the welfare of the church. (4) Basilides and Martialis having been deposed in Spain, appealed to pope Stephen to be restored to their sees.

Answer. The clergy and people of Spain paid no regard to the judgment of the Roman see in their favour ; and were approved and encouraged by St. Cyprian in so doing.[b]

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[a] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 146, &c. See Barrow, Pope's Supremacy, p. 714.

[b] Du Pin, p. 151. Barrow, p. 720.

(5) When certain persons represented to Dionysius of Rome, that Dionysius of Alexandria had taught heresy, the latter wrote an apology to clear himself. Therefore, it was the opinion of both parties, that the see of Rome had jurisdiction over the church of Alexandria.

Answer. It was common in that age for individuals to appeal to other churches against bishops accused of false doctrine: thus the church of Antioch applied to Dionysius of Alexandria, Firmilian, and others, against Paul of Samosata. Such applications only inferred the common care of all bishops for the church of Christ.[c]

(6) Pope Julius restored to their sees St. Athanasius of Alexandria, Paul of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza.

Answer. Athanasius had been compelled to escape from Alexandria to Rome in consequence of the persecution of the Arians, and had been irregularly condemned. Julius of Rome *and a synod* assembled at Rome, having heard his defence, *acknowledged* him as the legitimate bishop of Alexandria. There is no evidence that Julius *restored* him to his see: and it may be added, that this act of the Roman synod was not universally approved, and had no effect till the great synod of Sardica confirmed it.[d] Nearly the same may be said of the other cases mentioned. It must be observed also, that these circumstances occurred in times of imminent danger to the church from the Arian heresy; and when the ordinary rules might be dispensed with.

(7) Eustathius of Sebaste having been deposed by a synod of Acacians at Constantinople, and having been afterwards sent on a mission to pope Liberius, obtained from him letters of restoration to his see.

Answer. He was not restored to his see by Liberius, but

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[c] Ibid. p. 152.

[d] Ibid. p. 158, 159. Barrow, p. 721.

received letters testifying the soundness of his faith, on which the *synod of Tyana* restored him to his see.[e]

(8) St. John Chrysostom, having been unjustly deposed from the patriarchate of Constantinople was, on appeal, restored to his see by authority of pope Innocent.

Answer. Chrysostom wrote, not only to the bishop of Rome, but to those of *Milan* and *Aquileia*, requesting them to declare that the proceedings against him were unjust and null, and not to withdraw their communion from him. Innocentius, however, did not pretend to *annul* the sentence, but only required that the cause should be re-heard in a *synod* composed of eastern and western bishops; and that in the mean time, Chrysostom should be restored to his church provisionally.[f] This was merely an act of Christian charity, not of coercive jurisdiction.

(9.) The councils of Milevis and Carthage having condemned the Pelagian heresy, pope Innocentius, at the request of the African bishops, confirmed their decrees, and St. Augustine then said, "The cause is now finished, would to God that the error may also have an end!"

Answer. Tournely says that the cause was indeed ended, for the Pelagians had been already condemned in the councils of Diospolis, 1 Carthage, 2 Carthage, Milevis, and Jerusalem. The bishops of Carthage and Milevis had written to Innocentius concerning this growing error. Cælestius himself had appealed to the Roman bishop; to whom also the council of Jerusalem had sent the cause of Pelagius, as being a Latin; so that all that was now wanting to universal consent, was the judgment of the Roman church.[g] This being given, the cause was indeed ended; not by the authority of Rome, but by that of the universal church.

(10) Pope Cælestinus commissioned Cyril of Alexandria to depose Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople; thus exercising

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[e] Ibid. p. 163. [f] Ibid. p. 167—170. Barrow, p. 727.

[g] Tournely, De Ecclesia Christi, t. ii. p. 246.

an undoubted act of *jurisdiction* over the patriarchal see of Constantinople, a see only inferior in dignity to Rome itself.

Answer. The doctrine of Nestorius had been judged *heretical* by the synod of Rome,[h] and Cyril of Alexandria had written to Cælestinus, that the eastern churches all condemned Nestorius, but did not excommunicate him, as they desired the concurrence of the Roman bishop.[i] Cælestinus, in reply, authorized Cyril to act for *him;* not in any way pretending to exclusive authority in such matters; but merely exercising the right which was vested in every catholic bishop of expelling manifest heretics from communion.[k]

(11) When Eutyches was condemned by Flavianus and a council at Constantinople, he appealed to pope Leo, promising to obey his judgment. Leo wrote to Flavianus to demand information, and the latter, in reply, exhorted the pope to decree that the condemnation had been regular, and expressed his hopes that by this means heresy would be suppressed. Therefore, both parties paid homage to the superior authority of the Roman pontiff.

Answer. Eutyches appealed to the *synods* of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica: not to the bishop of Rome. Seeing that his appeal was not attended to, he wrote a letter of complaint to Leo of Rome, who, in consequence, did require from Flavianus information on this affair, that he might judge it. "Hence," says Du Pin, "it is plain that Leo *endeavoured* to bring this cause before himself; but it is altogether false, that Flavianus suspended the effect of the

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h Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. xxv. s. 14.

i Ibid. s. 12. See Barrow, Pope's Supremacy, p. 716.

k [The language of Philip, Cælestinus' own representative in the synod, concerning the deposition of Nestorius, is: ασφαλες εστι τοιγαρουν το εξενεχθεν κατ' εκεινου,—κατα τον τυπον πασων των εκκλησιων, επειδη συνεστηκασιν εν τουτω τω ἱερατικω συλλογω, δια τε των παροντων, δια τε των πρεσβευτων, των απο της ανατολικης τε, και δυτικης, εκκλησιας οι παροντες ἱερεις· δια τοι τουτο — ἡ παρουσα ἁγια συνοδος ὡρισε κ. τ. λ. Conc. Eph. Pars II. act. iii. Conc. ed. Rom. I. 409. E. Compare the language of Cyril, quoted in note [p], page 474.]

judgment against Eutyches on that account."[1] In fact, his letter to Leo supposes that the judgment of the synod was conclusive, and that the Roman pontiff ought not to examine the cause again, but to add his authority to the decision.[m]

(12) Gregory the great exercised jurisdiction in Africa, Egypt, Illyricum, &c. Pope Theodore, in the seventh century, appointed Stephen, bishop of Dora, his vicar in Palestine: Martin II. instituted the bishop of Philadelphia his vicar in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem.

Answer. The Roman pontiffs gradually extended their power beyond its proper limits, and endeavoured to bring Illyricum, Africa, and the west, within their patriarchate. Theodore and Martin appointed those vicars in the east in time of heresy, or when the Saracens had overrun those countries. These are, therefore, extraordinary cases. It would take up too much space to refute *all* the instances which have been adduced in proof of the pretended universal jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs during the first five centuries: but these seem to be the most usual arguments.

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[1] Du Pin, p. 215.

[m] Ibid. p. 213—216.

CHAPTER V.

ON OTHER PRETENDED PRIVILEGES OF THE ROMAN SEE.

In addition to the right of ordinary jurisdiction over the whole church, other privileges are claimed for the Roman pontiff by some or all of his adherents. It is asserted, that he has temporal jurisdiction over the whole world; that his power in ecclesiastical affairs is absolute; that he is the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that his judgments in matters of faith are infallible; and that he is the centre of catholic unity, so that whoever is not of the Roman communion, cannot be a member of the true church. The four first principles are held only by the ultramontane party in the Roman churches, and are disputed by the Gallican school: the last doctrine is commonly upheld by all members of the Roman obedience. It would needlessly occupy space to enter on the question of the temporal supremacy of the Roman pontiff, which has been so well refuted by Bossuet,[a] Tournely,[b] and a number of other writers of their communion: nor is it necessary to refute the notion of the *absolute* power of the Roman pontiff in ecclesiastical affairs, which is denied by the Gallican declaration of 1682, and by all its defenders: or of his being the *source* of all spiritual jurisdiction, from whom all bishops derive their authority; an opinion which, as Bossuet says, "began to be introduced into theology in the thirteenth century," having been "unheard of in early times."[c] I shall, therefore, only briefly notice the doctrines of the papal infallibility, and the centre of unity.

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[a] Bossuet, Defensio Declarat. Cleri Gallicani.

[b] Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. ii.

[c] Bossuet, ut supra, lib. viii. c. 11.

SECTION I.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

This doctrine is no longer the principal subject of debate between the Roman theologians and their opponents, as it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Delahogue defends the following position: "It may, with sound faith, and without any note of error or schism, be denied, that the Roman pontiff, even speaking *ex cathedra*, has the gift of infallibility."[d] Bouvier, bishop of Mans, concludes on the same principle: "The controversy as to the infallibility of the Roman pontiff therefore leads to nothing, practically: therefore the most learned theologians have rightly been of opinion, that it ought to be abstained from, *e. g.* the celebrated brothers Adrian and Peter Walembourgh, in their controversies against the Protestants, Peter Veron, &c.[e] The best refutation of this doctrine is to be found in Bossuet's "Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani." I shall merely notice a few of the arguments which may be brought against it.

1. It has been before proved that the Roman bishop did not succeed to St. Peter's pre-eminence by any divine institution: therefore his pretended infallibility, which rests entirely on the promises made to St. Peter, can have no foundation.

2. Scripture attributes the promises of divine support and protection of the faith, to the church at large, not to St. Peter only. Thus: "The Spirit of truth shall lead you into all truth:" "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world:" "The church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth:" "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to *us*:" "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," &c.

3. Catholic tradition and practice prove that the Roman pon-

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[d] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christ. p. 386.

[e] Bouvier, Tract. de Vera Ecclesia, p. 360.

tiff's decrees in faith were never esteemed infallible; but were judged by the church at large. Thus Cyprian and the African and oriental bishops did not receive or approve Stephen's decree in the controversy concerning heretical baptism. Cælestinus having condemned the doctrine of Nestorius, and directed his decree to Cyril of Alexandria; this did not prevent the cause of Nestorius from being *examined* afterwards by the council of Ephesus; and the epistle of Cælestine was read in the council, and *approved*. Leo of Rome wrote to Flavianus establishing the orthodox doctrine against the heresy of Eutyches: this epistle was read in the synod of Chalcedon, examined, and approved. Thus the synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon *judged* the Roman pontiff's writings, and did not regard them as infallible.

Vigilius of Rome published a constitution approving the epistle of Ibas: the fifth œcumenical synod immediately afterwards anathematized that epistle as impious and heretical.

Martin the first, in the Roman synod of Lateran, condemned the error of the Monothelites: but the decree was subjected to examination by the sixth œcumenical synod, and only approved when it was found orthodox. Honorius, though speaking *ex cathedra*, in the cause of the Monothelites, erred, and was condemned as a heretic by the sixth œcumenical synod. Adrian II. approved the worship of images decreed by the pseudo-synod of Nice: but the bishops of the west in the synods of Frankfort and Paris, rejected his doctrine. Therefore, the catholic church never believed the Roman pontiff infallible.[f]

OBJECTIONS.

I. Christ said to Peter: "Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen

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[f] In proof of these and similar facts, see Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Dissertatio v.; Launoii Epistolæ; Bossuet, Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallicani, lib. x.; De Barral, Défense des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane.

thy brethren."[g] Here, according to Bellarmine (De Rom. Pont. lib. iv. c. 3.) are two privileges given to St. Peter: first, the perpetuity of his own personal faith: secondly, that he, as pontiff, should never *teach* any thing contrary to the faith, or that no one should be ever found in his see to teach what was contrary to faith.

Answer. Tournely says that Launoy (Epistolarum Pars v. Ep. ad Bevillaquam,) reduces to four classes the fathers and ecclesiastical writers who have interpreted this text. 1. Some say that our Lord prayed that Peter should never lose the faith; 2. others that the Roman church should never fall away from faith; 3. others that the see of Peter, or the apostolical see, should not fail; 4. others that the universal church should not err in faith. Tournely says: "It is sufficient to impugn Bellarmine's opinion by this general argument, *viz.* From that sentence of scripture which the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers expound in different senses, the true faith being preserved on all sides, no firm and sure argument can be educed for one sense to the exclusion, much less to the condemnation of others; but freedom is to be left to every opinion."[h] Bailly says, it is much more probable that our Lord in this place referred only to Peter personally, since there is a manifest reference to his fall and conversion: "when thou art converted;" and this relates only to what was peculiar to Peter, and personal.[i]

II. Many passages from the fathers have been quoted in support of the papal infallibility, which have been all refuted by Barrow, Bossuet, Tournely, Launoy, &c.

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[g] Luke xxii. 32. [h] Tournely, De Ecclesia, t. ii. p. 200, &c.
[i] Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. Christi, t. ii. p. 246.

SECTION II.

ON THE ROMAN CENTRE OF UNITY.

It will be seen in the next chapter that I do not deny that the Roman bishop may, under certain circumstances, have been the centre of unity: what we deny is, that he is always the centre of unity in such a sense, that whoever is separated from his communion is necessarily cut off from the catholic church. This is the doctrine still maintained by the whole body of Roman theologians, and by all members of the Roman obedience. Communion with the Roman see is to them the test of catholic unity; whoever does not possess that communion, is necessarily in their opinion a heretic or a schismatic. This doctrine of the centre of unity is even taught as *de fide* by their theologians; so that it is not permitted even to doubt whether the Roman communion comprises the whole catholic church.

Certainly this evinces great determination to uphold the doctrine in question: it is, indeed, a point of *vital* importance to the modern Roman system, the very key-stone of the structure which has been so ingeniously erected. This principle being once firmly rooted, it is impossible that the claims of any catholic churches, beyond the Roman communion, can be investigated, except under an invincible prejudice; it must be, in fact, superfluous to examine their claims at all: they must be condemned without hearing, and the only exertion must be, to convince them of the danger of their position, and to bear down their arguments by all means. There cannot, therefore, be a more effective engine for sustaining the present system of the Roman communion.

I. But while we allow full credit to the Roman theologians for their clear-sightedness to the importance of this doctrine, we cannot equally applaud their consistency with reference to it. If communion with the Roman see be, as they say, absolutely and simply necessary, so that he who is separated from

it, is cut off from the catholic church of Christ, the Roman pontiff must be *infallible* in defining controversies of faith; because it is not to be believed that God would impose the absolute necessity of communicating with him otherwise. It follows equally, that he must have *absolute* power in ecclesiastical affairs; for if he enforces any thing under the penalty of excommunication, it must be obeyed. It also follows that he cannot fall into heresy, even when not defining *ex cathedra;* because no one can be entitled to forsake his communion. It follows equally, that he can do no wrong to churches or individuals: that no churches can have a right to dispute any mandate whatever, if enforced under the penalty of excommunication; even that kings and nations must obey whatever he may please to dictate in temporal matters. In short, the pontiff must be invested with supreme and absolute power over the whole church and the whole world, as the Ultramontanes contend, if his communion be always and absolutely the test of catholic unity. It was this principle in fact, which enabled the Roman pontiffs to become not merely patriarchs, but metropolitans, and even bishops of the whole west. It was this principle that separated the Latin churches from the communion of the Eastern, and of the British churches. It was this that made the Roman pontiffs, at one time, the feudal sovereigns of half Europe, and the virtual emperors of the west. And with what face, with what consistency, can those who object to these results and conclusions, maintain the principle from which they are inevitably derived? There never was a greater inconsistency than that of the Gallican church, of Bossuet, Launoy, Tournely, Bailly, Trevern, Bouvier, &c. who hold that the Roman pontiff is always and absolutely the centre of unity, so that those who are not in his communion are cut off from the catholic church, and yet deny or doubt that he is infallible, and absolute in spirituals and temporals. Nor is this inconsistency limited to these writers: for the ultramontanes tolerate their opinions; and thus admit, that the infallibility and absolute power of the pope is not *de fide*, that it may be disputed

in the catholic church; and yet have the confidence to assert that the communion of the Roman pontiff is absolutely necessary to every part of the catholic church. How is it possible that, if the pontiff may fall into error in faith, his communion must always be necessary? How can it be always and absolutely, necessary, if he may make regulations in spirituals and temporals under penalty of excommunication, which churches are not bound to obey? If churches are justified in refusing unreasonable demands of the Roman pontiff; if they are justified in preserving their own liberties, and the sacred canons; if they are entitled to defend the Christian truth supported by scripture, tradition, and the decrees of œcumenical synods, even against the Roman pontiff: then they are still churches of Christ, although that prelate should have excommunicated them: and though other churches, under an exaggerated opinion of the necessity of obeying him, should view them as blameable or even heretical.

II. I have already shown that there is no sufficient proof that the Roman pontiff is by divine right the successor of St. Peter; but the absolute necessity of being in his communion, rests entirely on this supposition.

III. The catholic church has never judged communion with the Roman pontiff always and absolutely necessary. The bishops of Asia were acknowledged as brethren by the rest of the church, though Victor separated them from his communion. St. Cyprian and the African bishops did not cease to be catholics, though pope Stephen excommunicated them; and St. Firmilian declared to that prelate, that so unjust an excommunication only separated its author from catholic unity. Meletius, bishop of Antioch, was not in communion with Damasus, and yet he was acknowledged by all the eastern church; and was afterwards accounted a saint by the church generally. Atticus of Constantinople, and St. Hilary of Arles, were respectively not in communion with Innocentius and Leo of Rome, and yet no one doubts their communion with the catholic church. And "who," says Du Pin, "would dare to say that Athanasius

and the rest were schismatics, and the Arians in the church, because Liberius admitted the latter to his communion, and rejected the former?"[k] Therefore, the Roman pontiff is not the centre of unity in such a sense, that whoever is separated from his communion is cut off from the catholic church. This in fact must be admitted after all by Romanists. Delahogue says: "It is to be observed, that the centre of unity, though necessary to the church, may be *interrupted*, in that respect by which all catholics are united by *the same visible bond of communion;* for during forty years of the great western schism, various competitors for the pontificate had their respective obediences; and each of them excommunicated those which did not adhere to them. But we have proved that none of these obediences were schismatical."[l] Hence it is plain, that Romanists cannot affix the charge of schism on any church merely from the *fact* of its not being in the Roman communion. Would they in reality themselves submit to any regulations whatever in ecclesiastical affairs, that the Roman pontiff should choose to make, provided that they were enforced under penalty of excommunication? We know perfectly well that they would not: and therefore they cannot condemn any church from the mere *fact* of its being separated from the papal communion.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Irenæus says, "To this (Roman) church, on account of her superior principality, every church must resort, that is the faithful everywhere; in which church the apostolical tradition was always preserved by them."[m] Therefore, communion with the Roman church was necessary.

Answer. Irenæus says, the necessity of resorting to the

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[k] See Vol. I. p. 214. [l] Delahogue, De Eccl. Christi, p. 393.
[m] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

Roman church, arose from "the principality" or pre-eminence of that church: but he does not say that this pre-eminence is of divine institution; therefore, he does not teach that the necessity of resorting to that church is of divine institution.

II. Cyprian, in writing to Cornelius of Rome, says, that "the unity of the catholic church" is to be found in his communion.[n]

Answer. It was so: for Cornelius was the bishop of the catholic church at Rome, while Novatian was bishop of the schismatics. Therefore, the communion of Cornelius was that of the catholic church.

III. Ambrose says, that his brother Satyrus, when near his death, inquired of the bishop whom he had sent for in order to receive baptism, "whether he agreed with the catholic bishops, that is, with the *Roman church?*"[o]

Answer. The Roman church was, at *that time*, the principal orthodox church: Satyrus mentioned it, not as the centre of unity by divine institution: but in order to designate more particularly the faith which he approved.

IV. Jerome wrote to pope Damasus: "I am of the communion of your holiness, that is, of the chair of Peter: on that rock I know the church is built. Whoever eateth the lamb beyond that house is profane. I know not Vitalis, Meletius I reject, Paulinus is unknown to me. Whoever gathereth not with *thee*, scattereth."[p]

Answer. These were three rival bishops at Antioch, each of whom seemed not without a reasonable claim. In this *perplexity*, Jerome wrote from Syria to Damasus, with whom the whole catholic church communicated at that time, to inquire which of these bishops was acknowledged by *him;* as this would determine which was in communion with the catholic

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[n] Cyprian. Epist. 45. 52.

[o] Ambros. Liber de Excessu Fratris, n. 47.

[p] Hieronymus, Epist. xiv. ad Damas.

church, and therefore which ought to be acknowledged.[q] This is the real meaning of Jerome's complimentary expressions to Damasus.

V. Optatus argues with the Donatists, that "an episcopal chair was first conferred on St. Peter in the city of Rome, . . . in which all should preserve unity, lest the other apostles might each claim it for themselves; so that whoever should set up a chair against the one chair should be a schismatic and an offender. It was in this one chair, which is the first of the gifts of the church, that St. Peter first sat;" to whom others succeeded till Damasus, "who is now our colleague, with whom all the world is united with us in the same communion, keeping correspondence by circular letters."[r]

Answer. It is not denied, that S. Optatus in arguing against the Donatists as to the "cathedra," which they admitted to be one of the gifts of the church, refers to the chair of Peter at Rome, as constituting the centre of unity in the catholic church. It was so in fact at that time, and had very long been so. But Optatus does not affirm that it was in such a sense the centre of unity, that whatever churches should be at any time separated from its communion must be schismatic or heretic. It may be added, that the argument of this holy bishop alone, is quite insufficient to establish an article of faith, or even to render a doctrine probable.

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[q] See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. xvii. sect. 29.

[r] Optatus, Lib. ii. De Schism. Donatist.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN SEE.

Though it has been shown that the bishop of Rome has not, by divine or human right, any proper *jurisdiction* over the universal church, it would be equally unjust to that see, to the primitive church, and to ourselves, to deny or diminish the ancient legitimate privileges of the chair of St. Peter.

While all bishops are alike successors of the apostles, it cannot be denied that the bishops of metropolitan and patriarchal sees have influence and authority in the church generally, in proportion to the dignity of their churches: and therefore, the bishop of the elder Rome being bishop of the principal church, and being the first of the patriarchs, could not fail to have more authority amongst his colleagues, the catholic bishops, than any other prelate. The exalted station in which the providence of God had placed him, imposed on him a special obligation of exhorting his brethren to the observance of the sacred canons, and of resisting the progress of heresy by formal condemnations.

These acts of the Roman bishop might extend to the whole church. He might transmit such decrees in faith and morals to all bishops for their approbation. Such decrees ought to have been received with respect, though no bishop was bound to approve or act on them, unless they appeared conformable to the doctrine of the universal church.

It was not unreasonable that the Roman patriarch should make regulations in discipline for particular churches, when consulted and requested to do so by those churches: he might even make such regulations unsolicited, provided it were understood that it was in the way of counsel or admonition, not in that of precept or command.

The authority of the Roman see rendered it fitting that in matters of controversy concerning the doctrine or unity of the whole church, the see of St. Peter should not be neglected; but that its aid should be sought to re-establish order and peace.

In cases of extreme danger and necessity, all catholic bishops are authorized to dispense, even with the laws of œcumenical synods. This privilege, therefore, could not be refused to the Roman bishop; and the authority of his see would even give his dispensation greater weight than that of other bishops. Hence would follow the expediency of obtaining that dispensation in some cases, where bishops desired some authority in addition to their own.

Whenever the bishop of Rome was actually in communion with the universal church, he would naturally be the centre of unity, because of his authority in the universal church, which would lead churches in every part of the world to communicate with him on many occasions; and thus churches remote from each other would be united by means of their intercourse with a common centre. But when the universal church is divided, and a great part is not in communion with the Roman see, it ceases to be the centre of unity.

Such are the privileges naturally flowing from, or connected with the precedence of the Roman patriarch in the universal church: privileges which were not merely honorary, but which were calculated for the edification, not the subjugation of the church. In these privileges there was nothing of jurisdiction or coercive power; they arose not from divine institution, but were founded on reason, and on Christian charity. Happy would it have been, if this venerable and apostolical see had not afterwards transgressed its rightful authority, and assumed powers which disturbed the unity and subverted the discipline of the church. But on this I shall speak more fully hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE PATRIARCHATE OF ROME.

Trevern and other writers have pretended, that the British churches formed part of the Roman patriarchate; and, therefore, that the reformation of these churches being effected without the consent of their patriarch, was irregular and schismatical. Let us, therefore, consider briefly the real extent of the patriarchate of Rome.

I maintain that this patriarchate extends legitimately to the regions included in the ancient Roman suburbicarian provinces of Tuscia, Umbria, Valeria, Picenum, Latium, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, Brutia, with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and others adjoining; and that it does not include the northern provinces of Italy, Africa, France, Spain, Germany, Britain, or any of the other northern and eastern churches.

I. The controversy has turned chiefly on the sixth canon of the synod of three hundred and eighteen fathers at Nice; or rather, on the version of it by Ruffinus, which is as follows: "That in Alexandria, and the city of Rome, the ancient custom be preserved, so that the one take the care of the Egyptian, the other of the *suburbicarian* churches."[a] The ancient Latin version, published by Sirmond and Justel also explain the power of the Roman see, confirmed by this canon, to relate to the suburbicarian provinces.[b]

Benedict XIV. in his treatise "De Synodo Diœcesana,"

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[a] "Ut apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic Suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat." —Ruffin. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 6.

[b] See Bingham, Antiquities, book ix. c. 1.

says that Schelstrate, Pagius, Carolus à S. Paulo, and others, commonly understand by the term "suburbicarian churches," not merely the province of Rome, but *all the regions of the west*, which obeyed the Roman pontiff as their patriarch: "since it is clear from the context, that the council of Nice and Ruffinus speak not of the metropolitical, but of the *patriarchal* right."[c]

Since, therefore, it is agreed that the clause refers to the *patriarchate* of Rome, let us now see its more particular meaning. To suppose that the term "suburbicarian" means "*all the west*," is an absurdity. We might just as reasonably say that it signifies "*the whole world*." The etymology of the term suggests evidently the notion of vicinity to Rome. By Gothofred, Salmasius, and Cave, it is understood to be here applied to the churches within the civil jurisdiction of the "*Præfectus Urbis*," that is, within a hundred miles round the city. Sirmond, Bingham, and others, with more reason suppose the term to signify the churches within the district of the "*Vicarius Urbicus*," extending over the ten provinces of Italy and the islands enumerated above.[d]

It appears from the *Notitia*, and from other sources consulted by Bingham, that the sees of these provinces were very numerous, amounting to about 240, of which 110 were immediately related to the bishop of Rome as their metropolitan; while the remainder, though under their own metropolitans, were also, in many respects, subject to the power of the Roman see. Such is the real extent of the patriarchate of Rome, which gave that see a great authority in the catholic church.

This conclusion is confirmed by the sentiments of the most learned Roman theologians. Fleury, in allusion to the extensive correspondence of Gregory the Great on matters of discipline, says, "St. Gregory did not enter into this detail, except for the churches which depended particularly on the holy see, and

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[c] Benedict XIV., De Synodo Diœcesana, lib. ii. c. 2.

[d] Bingham, Antiquities, ut supra.

which for this reason they termed *suburbicarian:* that is to say, those of the southern part of Italy, where he was the only archbishop; and those of Sicily and the other islands, although they had metropolitans. But we do not find that he exercised the same immediate power in the provinces dependent on Milan and Aquileia, nor in Spain or Gaul."[e] Thomassin also understands the word "suburbicarian" to relate only to Italy and the adjacent islands.[f] Dr. O'Conor says, that "as patriarch, the pope's jurisdiction did not interfere with that of the patriarchs of Milan or of Aquileia, so that they who have dubbed him patriarch of all the western world, are quite ignorant of ecclesiastical history."[g] Du Pin proves at length that the Roman patriarchate does not extend beyond the suburbicarian provinces of Italy and the islands, and refutes the various arguments adduced to the contrary by many other Roman theologians."[h]

II. The Roman bishop did not, for many centuries, exercise the powers of a patriarch in the western churches generally. According to Thomassin, presbyter of the Oratory, the privileges of a patriarch were as follows. First, to ordain all the metropolitans of their patriarchate, and many of the bishops; secondly, to judge those metropolitans; thirdly, to receive the appeals of bishops from metropolitans, and even those of presbyters and deacons; fourthly, to assemble councils of those subject to their patriarchate. From this it may be concluded that the Roman patriarchate does not extend beyond Italy and Sicily, for the following reasons.[i]

1. There is no instance of the metropolitans of Africa being *ordained* by the papal authority. On the contrary, it is plain that the bishops of Carthage were ordained by the synod of Africa. De Marca, archbishop of Paris, has proved that it was

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[e] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. viii. s. 41.

[f] Thomassin. Vet. et. Nov. Eccl. Discipl. t. i. lib. i. c. 8. s. 14.

[g] O'Conor, Letter iii. of Columbanus.

[h] Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. i. § 11. 14.

[i] Thomassin. t. i. lib. i. c. 9. s. 12—14.

the ancient right of the Gallican and Spanish churches to ordain their own metropolitans, without reference to any foreign authority.[k] Even the archbishop of Milan was not ordained by the Roman pontiff, but by the bishop of Aquileia.[l]

2. The canons attribute the *judgment* of all bishops without exception to the provincial synods; and we do not find that the Roman pontiff during the early ages, either claimed or exercised any peculiar right of judging the metropolitans of the west.

3. That the patriarch of Rome had no right to receive *appeals* from Africa, appears by the case of Apiarius, whom Zosimus pretended to absolve from the excommunication of an African synod; on which it was decreed by the African church, and renewed again more than once, that whoever should appeal from the African synod to Rome, should be excommunicated. Baluzius proves that for eight hundred years the Gallican churches permitted no appeals to the Roman patriarch.[m]

4. Though the bishops of Rome assembled many synods in the course of the first six centuries, we do not find a single example of their summoning all the bishops of the west to a *patriarchal synod.* Their synods consisted always of the bishops of Italy; and were never attended by those of Africa, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Illyricum, Britain; unless by chance one or two happened to be present in the city.

Gregory the Great, himself, was sensible that it might be alleged that Spain was not within the Roman patriarchate; for in an epistle to the Spanish bishops, having quoted an imperial law commanding certain causes to be referred to the metropolitan or the patriarch of the diocese, he continues: "If against this it be alleged that he has *no metropolitan or patriarch:* it must be said that the cause is to be heard and decided by the apostolical see, the head of all churches."[n]

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[k] De Marca, de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imperii, lib. iv. c. 4.

[l] De Marca, lib. vi. c. 4. n. 7, 8.

[m] Baluzii Præfat. ad Anton. August. lib. de emendatione Gratiani.

[n] "Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patri-

III. We may conclude, then, that the patriarchate of Rome does not extend beyond the limits of Italy and the adjoining islands; because no patriarchal rights were exercised beyond them by the Roman pontiffs for many centuries. For it is in vain to allege, as the Ultramontanes do, that the Roman see did not *exercise* its rightful privileges, or that the confusions of the times may have interfered with them. History shows that these prelates have been always but too anxious to exercise and to extend their jurisdiction.

With regard to the British churches in particular, it has been shown by Stillingfleet and others,[o] that there is no evidence that the Roman pontiff ever exercised any acts of patriarchal jurisdiction in them, or that they form any part of the Roman patriarchate: but these proofs are needless, for if so many other provinces of the west much nearer to Rome, were not under its jurisdiction it is not credible that our provinces should have been so.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Schelstrate,[p] in reply to Stillingfleet, adduces the letter of the synod of Arles to pope Sylvester, in A. D. 314, which consisted of bishops from Africa, Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Britain, in which it is said: "Placuit etiam antequam a te qui majores diœceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari," or, as corrected by Du Perron, "Placuit etiam, hæc juxta antiquam consuetudinem, a te, qui majores diœceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari," implying an acknowledgment that the bishop of Rome held the "greater dioceses." These great-

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archam; dicendum est quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est; causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat."—Gregorius Magnus, Epist. lib. ii. ep. 56.

[o] Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. See Vol. I. p. 445.

[p] Schelstrate, Dissertatio de Auctoritate Patriarchali et Metropolitica, Romæ, 1687.

er dioceses Schelstrate says must mean the civil dioceses of the Roman empire. These dioceses were thirteen, *viz.* Macedonia, Dacia, Italy, Illyricum, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, in the west; and Egypt, the Oriental, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, in the east; and hence Schelstrate supposes that the greater dioceses referred to by the synod, must mean the western dioceses of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Britain, &c.

Answer. There is no proof that the word 'diœceses' was, so early as 314, applied to the civil dioceses, or that Constantine had yet formed those dioceses. Schelstrate himself produces no evidence of their existence until about the time of the council of Nice in 325,[q] when Constantine, having lately subdued Licinius, and obtained possession of the whole empire, may probably have instituted this arrangement.

We find, indeed, the term 'diœcesis' generally applied before the synod of Arles to the ordinary provinces of the Roman empire. Schelstrate himself quotes Onuphrius Panvinus, saying that in the time of the emperor Hadrian, "there were seventeen *provinces* or *dioceses* in Italy and its islands."[r] He might have added that Strabo, in the time of Tiberius, observed that Phrygia, and other regions of Asia, were divided into 'dioceses' by the Romans; and that the 'diocese' of Cybara was the greatest in Asia.[s] Cicero mentions three 'dioceses' of Asia,[t] and speaks of "all the dioceses" between mount Taurus and Cilicia,[u] Hence it is plain that the term had been applied long before the synod of Arles, to the ordinary Roman province, or some smaller division; so that we may most probably understand the expression "*majores diœceses*," to refer to those Italian provinces subject to the Roman patriarchate, the term *ma-*

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[q] Schelstrate, p. 62. [r] Ibid. p. 63. [s] Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 432.

[t] Cicero, lib. xiii. ad famil. Epist. lxvii. "Ex provincia mea Cilicienci, cui scis tres διοικήσεις Asiaticas attributas fuisse."

[u] Id. lib. iii. epist. ix. "Quid enim erant, &c. . . . ut me omnium illarum diœcesium, quæ cis Taurum sunt, omniumque earum magistratus legationesque convenirent."

jores being taken positively for "magnas," and doubtless those provinces might well be called great, since they were the richest and most populous in the whole world, and comprised about 240 bishoprics.

II. The British bishops, at all events, with the rest of the synod of Sardica, acknowledged the papal power of receiving appeals from all parts of the world.[v]

Answer. 1. This can have no relation to the patriarchal power of Rome; because no one pretends that the Roman patriarchate extends over the whole world. 2. There was no acknowledgment of the papal power of receiving appeals; but the right of desiring the cause to be re-heard, was here *conferred* on the bishop of Rome; a privilege, however, which was never acknowledged by the eastern church, and which did not take effect for several centuries in the west, as Du Pin has shown.[w]

III. Pelagius, after being accused of heresy at synods in the east, permitted his cause to be referred to the Roman pontiff, which he would not have done if the Roman pontiff had not had authority in Britain.[x]

Answer. Pelagius had preached his heresies in Italy and the east, therefore he was lawfully subject to the cognizance of synods and bishops in those regions. He did not appeal from a British synod to Rome, but from an oriental synod.

IV. The bishops of Spain, Gaul, and Africa, often consulted the Roman see in difficult cases, and received decretal epistles from them. Therefore they must have been within the Roman patriarchate.

Answer. Polycarp of Smyrna, Dionysius of Alexandria, and many other bishops of the east, either resorted to Rome, or wrote to consult the bishop of Rome in difficult cases: but no one pretends that any part of the east was within the Roman

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[v] Schelstrate, p. 94.

[w] Du Pin, De Antiqua Eccl. Discipl. Dissert. ii.

[x] Schelstrate, p. 95.

patriarchate. Such applications merely implied respect for the Roman see, and confidence in the wisdom of its judgments.

V. Pope Siricius and his successors made the bishops of Thessalonica their vicars in Illyricum: Zosimus and his successors appointed the bishops of Arles vicars in France. Leo made Potentius vicar in Africa. Simplicius and his successors made the bishops of Seville vicars in Spain. Gregory made Augustine vicar in Britain. Therefore, these provinces were all within the Roman patriarchate.

Answer. Pope Theodore sent a vicar into Palestine: Martin commissioned another for the east. Gregory VII. gave the pallium to the Latin patriarchs of the east: yet no one will pretend that these churches were within the patriarchate of Rome. Therefore, the appointment of vicars in various countries of the west is no proof that the bishop of Rome was patriarch of those countries; but without doubt the pontiffs endeavoured by these means to acquire jurisdiction, and gradually succeeded; though it may be most reasonably denied that they did so under pretence of any right as *patriarch;* their claim being usually founded on their *primacy* in the church.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE POWER OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

I HAVE already spoken of the various causes which from the beginning conferred on the church of Rome the chief place amongst Christian churches. The number of its clergy and people, its wealth and charity, its apostolical origin, the purity of its faith, the greatness and dignity of the city of Rome, conspired to elevate this apostolical see in the estimation of the whole church. Hence, from an early period, many churches of Italy, and the adjoining isles, acknowledge the bishop of Rome as their patriarch; and his patriarchal privileges were confirmed by the œcumenical synod of Nice. The same causes which induced so many churches to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of Rome, led the remainder of the church throughout the world to regard the Roman see with great reverence, and to ask for its aid on many occasions. The power of that church arose naturally from the honour paid to it; and extended itself gradually, while men were ignorant of the results which would follow, and made no sufficient efforts to prevent them, by establishing definite principles and limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The immense fabric of the papal domination was established by three powers, which were slowly developed. First, the judicial power; secondly, the legislative power; and thirdly, the executive power. It was confirmed by the temporal power of the popes, and by the monastic orders. These points I shall now examine.[a]

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[a] The principal authorities on which this review is founded are Barrow, Treatise on Pope's Supremacy; Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Disciplina; Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl.; and Biblioth. des Auteurs; Fleury, Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique; De Hontheim; Febronius; Koch, Tableau des Révolut. de l'Europe, t. i.; Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, &c.

I. By the judicial power of the Roman see, I mean the power of acting as supreme judge in all causes. This power arose from appeals. It was very natural that when bishops or clergy were deprived of their benefices by the judgment of provincial synods, they should sometimes apply to the greatest and most powerful bishop of the universal church, in the hope of persuading him to advocate their cause, and to use his influence and authority for their restoration. Hence, we find applications made to the Roman see from Spain in the third century, and in the fourth by S. Athanasius, and other eastern bishops. The Roman pontiffs always befriended those who thus sought their aid, and though their judgment was not absolutely binding, (having been rejected by the Spanish bishops, and the Eastern in several cases,) yet its influence was considerable; and the benefit which it had procured to the orthodox cause in contributing to the restoration of Athanasius, led the bishops of the council of Sardica, A.D. 343, to give somewhat of a formal and legislative establishment to the judicial authority of the Roman see. They decreed, that if any bishop condemned by a provincial synod, should appeal to the bishop of Rome, no successor should be ordained at once, but that the bishop of Rome should have power to revise the cause, and, if he judged it reasonable, to direct a new trial in the neighbouring province. This canon, indeed, did not give the pontiff the power of himself judging any bishop in his tribunal at Rome; but it was a great step, as it invested him with a certain power of taking cognizance of episcopal causes; and though the canon was not received by the Eastern or the African churches, or generally in the west for some ages, it laid a foundation on which gradually a vast superstructure was raised. The emperor Valentinian, about A.D. 372, contributed still further to the same end by issuing a decree that the bishop of Rome should judge all other bishops in the Roman empire, in order that they should not be brought before the temporal courts. The bishops of Italy, assembled at Rome about A.D. 379, returned their thanks to the

emperors Gratian and Valentinian for this decree, little foreseeing the chains which they were forging for their own necks.

We find the Roman pontiffs thenceforward urging their claims at one time on the canon of Sardica, at another on the principle of the law of Valentinian, at another on the precedents in the case of Athanasius and the Eastern bishops. Yet, in many instances, churches refused to acknowledge these claims. Thus the African churches rejected the right of hearing appeals, claimed by pope Zosimus. The judgment of the pontiff was rejected by the Gallican bishops in the case of Chelidonius, and of Salonius and Sagittarius, bishops who had appealed from the decrees of Gallican synods. It was rejected by the English bishops in the case of Wilfrid, deposed from the see of York, and who had appealed to Rome. Still from continual exercise and perseverance, the pontifical power extended itself and acquired partizans; and, in the ninth century, pope Nicholas I. maintained that the Roman pontiff had a right to take immediate cognizance of all causes of bishops, even to the exclusion of provincial synods, which had always hitherto judged bishops according to the canons of the universal church. To these canons were now opposed the spurious decretals forged in the preceding century, which were brought forward as the laws of the church during its most primitive ages. Hincmar, archbishop, of Rheims, and the Gallican bishops, in vain attempted to deny the authenticity of these decretals. The age was unable to distinguish the marks of their forgery, and they established ere long in all the western church the principle, that the pontiff was the immediate and proper judge of all bishops whatever, with the power of summoning them before his tribunal.

But the principle thus established was capable of still further extension. The pontiffs accordingly claimed the power of judging the causes of the inferior *clergy*, whether already decided by local synods or not. Nicholas I. in the ninth century, assumed the power of reversing the judgments of *synods* in such cases: his successors, and particularly Gregory VII.

encouraged direct applications from the clergy, and finally from the laity in all causes whatever to the Roman see. In fact, the spurious decretals broadly and continually asserted this right. Several synods endeavoured in vain to check these innovations: the tribunals of Rome ultimately obtained all the emolument and power arising from the judgment of almost all the ecclesiastical causes of Europe. The pontiff was acknowledged in the thirteenth century, as the immediate and supreme judge of every Christian.

II. The legislative power of the Roman see arose from the consultations of bishops in difficult cases, and from the practice of fraternal admonition.

In the dispute concerning the time of keeping Easter, Polycarp came to Rome to confer with Anicetus on the affair, as presiding over the greatest see. In the same manner, Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to consult Dionysius of Rome, on the case of one who had partaken of the eucharist without having been previously baptized. These references, though occasionally, were not exclusively made to Rome. The principal reason for which they were made, was that Rome itself, being a great apostolical church, and being visited by Christians from all parts of the world, it might be reasonably supposed that the apostolic doctrine and discipline was there preserved more pure than elsewhere.

The pontiffs, with or without these applications, soon began to assume the tone of command rather than that of admonition. The epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, on occasion of schism in their church, was full of fraternal exhortation; but in the latter part of the second century Victor threatened the churches of Asia with excommunication, if they did not adopt the more usual rule of keeping Easter; and in the third, Stephen excommunicated the churches of Africa because they differed from the Roman custom in rebaptizing heretics. In both these cases, however, the churches refused to yield obedience or submit to the mandate of Rome. The practice of consulting this apostolical see particularly prevailed in the

west. We possess a series of decretal epistles written by the Roman bishops from the time of Siricius (in the latter part of the fourth century,) either in reply to the questions of the bishops of Illyricum, Spain, Gaul, Africa, and at length Britain; or even without any such consultations. These epistles generally are in a tone of *authority;* but the bishops to whom they were addressed, did not for a long time consider themselves bound to approve or act on them, unless they were consistent with the customs and liberties of their churches. In fact, even in the middle ages, many of the papal decrees were not accepted by the churches of France, Germany, England, &c. In the synod of Rheims, about 990, Arnold, bishop of Orleans, protested that the new constitutions of the popes ought not to prejudice the ancient laws of the church; and that if, through ignorance, fear, or passion, they depart from justice, their decrees ought not to be feared. The decretal epistles of the pontiffs, were, therefore, not generally considered absolutely binding for a long time; but still by continual exercise this power of legislation increased, and the authoritative decretal epistles of the pontiffs being accepted by many churches, formed a body of *precedents*, which gradually induced the opinion that the pontiff had the right to legislate for all churches, (the *consultation* of the churches being forgotten,) and that disobedience was unjustifiable, except in extreme cases. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the spurious decretals attributed to the early popes, confirmed this impression; and the principles laid down in these decretals tended still more to concentrate all power of legislation in the Roman see, by denying to synods the power of assembling and acting without the papal authority. Accordingly, whatever synods were held in the west from the time of Gregory VII., were under the direction and control of the papal legates, who promulgated the laws in them. The collection of canons (entitled Decretum,) made by Gratian in the twelfth century, and which was immediately adopted by all the schools and universities of Europe, established finally the authority of the spurious decretals,

and with them the legislative power of the popes. Gratian even maintained that the pontiffs were not bound to obey the ancient canons, (which they had, however, always *sworn* to observe at their ordinations,) and thus arose the opinion which spread generally in the west, that the pontiff's power was *without limit.*[a] Hence, arose a multitude of laws subversive of the ancient privileges and customs of churches, and of the canons of the universal church. The pontiffs assumed the power of absolving from all censures, and dispensing with all regulations. In the thirteenth century, they issued decrees reserving to themselves the exclusive appointment to all bishoprics, abbeys, and priories; all dignities in cathedral and collegiate churches; and finally all benefices whatsoever, which might become vacant during *eight months* of the year; termed *menses papæ.* Even the remainder were subject to provisions, expectative graces, &c., by which the pontiffs endeavoured to engross these appointments. It is true that these reservations were not universally executed, in consequence of the resistance of the temporal sovereigns, and of some prelates; but still they prevailed to an astonishing extent. The pontiffs in the fourteenth century imposed taxes at pleasure on the clergy, under the name of supplies for the Crusades, annates, tenths, &c. All these pretensions and privileges were founded on the legislative power which the pontiffs had gradually acquired through the circumstances already alluded to.

III. A most important branch of the pontifical authority was

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[a] Le Décret de Gratien acheva d'affermir et d'étendre l'autorité des fausses décrétales que l'on y trouva semées partout: car pendant plus de trois siècles on ne connoissoit point d'autres canons que ceux de ce recueil, on n'en suivoit point d'autres dans les écoles et dans les tribunaux. Gratien avoit même enchéri sur ces décrétales pour étendre l'autorité du Pape, soutenant qu'il n'étoit point soumis aux canons: ce qu'il dit de son chef et sans en apporter aucune preuve d'autorité. Ainsi se forma dans l'église Latine une idée confuse que la puissance du Pape étoit *sans bornes*, &c.—Fleury, Disc. iv. sur l'Hist. Eccl.

the executive power: the power of not merely hearing appeals at Rome, or of enacting laws for the western church; but of deputing persons to *execute* those laws and decisions in all parts of the church. This power also arose gradually. It is not till the latter part of the fourth century that we read of vicars or legates of the Roman see. So highly was the Roman see reverenced, and so great was its influence and weight in the church generally, that metropolitans, and others who were desirous of maintaining or increasing their authority, would gladly receive that of the Roman see in confirmation of their own. Accordingly, we find that the bishops of Thessalonica, who were anxious to maintain and extend their power over Illyricum, were declared *vicars* of the apostolical see by Damasus and Siricius, in the latter part of the fourth century; that Patroclus, bishop of Arles, received a similar appointment for Gaul from Zosimus, in the fifth century; as did the bishop of Seville for Spain: and the following ages added to the number of these vicars of the apostolic see. In this manner, the pontiffs rendered the chief bishops of each country in the west subservient to them; and as the temper of the times admitted, they increased their powers, or encouraged them to make inroads on the liberties of churches. A custom thus supported by the chief bishops in each country took firm root; and as the pontiffs, in return for the authority they communicated to their vicars, exacted a reference of the more difficult cases to their immediate tribunal, it tended to increase their jurisdiction.

To these vicars the Roman pontiffs transmitted the pallium or pall: an ornament which appears originally to have been conferred by the emperors on the patriarchs about the end of the fourth century. It was about A. D. 500, given by pope Symmachus to his vicar or legate Cæsarius, of Arles. The pallium was afterwards conferred by the pontiffs as a matter of the highest favour, and often only at the earnest solicitation of kings, on the various apostolical vicars or legates of Arles, Seville, Canterbury, Mentz. It was sometimes refused until the consent of

the eastern emperor had been obtained. The rareness of this privilege rendered it extremely valuable and desirable in the eyes of the western bishops and metropolitans. It was conferred on Siagrius, bishop of Autun, at the earnest request of queen Brunachilda, by Gregory the Great, and on Arglibert, bishop of Mans, in 685; but with these two exceptions, none of the western bishops, except the vicars of the apostolic see, received the pallium till the time of pope Zacharias, about 743, when all the metropolitans of Gaul obtained it through the new regulations introduced by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz. They were, however, bound to solicit earnestly for the pall, and were obliged to strengthen their applications by the entreaties of the emperors and kings of France, and to promise obedience to the pontiff before they could obtain this highly-valued privilege. For a long time also, the pall was only conceded to those who went personally to Rome to entreat the pontiff for it.

Gregory VII. prohibited metropolitans from ordaining bishops or clergy, or consecrating churches, until they had obtained the pall. He also imposed on them, as a condition of receiving it, an oath of strict obedience to the apostolical see. His successors made it a source of pecuniary profit. It is stated by Matthew Paris, that in the time of Henry I. the archbishop of York paid a sum equal to 10,000*l.* for his pall. The metropolitans of the west were, however, now completely subjects to the pontiff, bound to obedience. It remained to acquire a similar power over bishops; and this was effected in the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the pontiffs obtained, by means of reservations, the power of appointing to all bishoprics, or at least of confirming the appointments to all, and imposed similar oaths of obedience on the bishops, who thus became entirely subject to the Roman see. Independently, however, of the oaths and promises of obedience made by the prelates to the Roman see, the appointment of vicars or legates in great numbers, empowered to interfere in all the affairs of particular churches, and to form the direct channel of communication between the pontiff and the churches generally, greatly

established and consolidated the fabric of Roman power. From the time of Gregory VII. the number of legates was vastly increased, and they became extremely burdensome to all the churches.

IV. The temporal power of the popes arose indeed very late, and was derived from their spiritual power; but it had so great an effect in strengthening the spiritual power for some ages, that it merits our consideration. I do not here refer to their authority as temporal princes of a part of Italy, given to the Roman see by Pepin, and confirmed by Charlemagne: but to that power which enabled them to appoint and depose emperors and kings.

The judgment of the Roman see was called for by the Franks, when desirous of deposing the last of the race of Merovingian kings to make room for Pepin. So great was the power of that church in the eleventh century, that the emperor Henry III. on his death bed in 1056, recommended his son to the protection of the pope and the church of Rome. The famous Gregory VII., while yet a cardinal, engaged pope Nicholas II. to make Robert Guiscard an ally and a *vassal* of the Roman church. When elevated to the chair of St. Peter, he assumed absolute power over emperors and kings. He addressed exhortations to them on the manner of governing their states; and the emperor Henry IV., having disobeyed a citation to Rome, and in his anger caused the pontiff to be deposed by an assembly of bishops at Worms, Gregory VI. deposed him from the empire, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and finally succeeded in compelling the emperor to make a most humble submission. The pontiff afterwards, in setting up a rival emperor, required from him an oath of faithful obedience to the pope. Gregory deposed Boleslaus, king of Poland, for putting a bishop to death. He granted the regal dignity to the duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, on condition of his doing homage for his kingdom. He addressed letters to all the sovereigns of Europe, claiming their vassalage and obedience to the Roman see; and several were actually induced to acquiesce in this extraordinary demand. In the suc-

ceeding ages we find several instances of kings and princes becoming tributaries and vassals to the Roman see. Arragon, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Provence, England, Scotland, and many other countries, received the yoke. The pontiffs pretended to confirm the election of emperors. Lothaire II. and Otto sought their confirmation. Innocent II. and Innocent III. took cognizance of disputed elections of emperors. Gregory VII., and his successors, deposed the emperors Henry IV. in 1076, Frederick Barbarossa in 1160, Henry the sixth in 1191, Otho the fourth in 1212, and Frederick the second in 1245. The kingdoms of England, France, Portugal, Norway, were visited by similar calamities. In fine, from the eleventh to the middle of the fourteenth century, the pontiffs were virtually the sovereigns of the west. They held themselves entitled to interfere in all the proceedings of civil as well as ecclesiastical authorities; to issue their commands to kings; to annul their acts; to judge their differences; to elevate some to the regal dignity, and deprive others of it; to take them under the protection of the Roman see; and to lay kingdoms under interdict or excommunication in case of disobedience to their commands. Nor was this all. The pontiffs were enabled to direct a tremendous physical force against any sovereign who might be disposed to dispute their commands.

The crusades had been proclaimed by the Roman pontiffs: and the influence at once of religious zeal, and of profound reverence for the apostolic see, were never more remarkably displayed, than in the array of hundreds of thousands of men at their bidding traversing sea and land to recover the holy sepulchre. But these crusades were speedily directed not only against infidels, but against heretics and schismatics, or those who were disobedient to the Roman see. Hence, those monarchs who were disobedient to the pontiffs, were not only in danger of excommunication, and of their subjects being absolved from their allegiance; circumstances which in those ages were calculated to create serious disturbances; but they were also to contemplate the possibility of having a crusade proclaimed against

them ; the acquisition of their dominions being held out as a reward to a successful invader.

There must certainly have been some grand radical mistake in a system of opinion which could support such a power. That mistake consisted in supposing that the pontiff was by divine right Head of the church, and that communion with him was essential to salvation. This principle once acknowledged, the pontiff might accomplish *anything* by threats of excommunication. The enormity of this system, however, and the extravagant length to which it was carried, at length caused its downfall, and at the same time contributed most materially to dispose men for shaking off the spiritual usurpations of the Roman see also. Yet though the pontiffs did not possess all their former power, we find them, even in the sixteenth century, excommunicating and deposing king Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, and absolving their subjects from allegiance.

V. The monastic system was so powerful a support of the Roman see during the middle ages, and until a comparatively recent period, that it merits a distinct notice. The ancient monks of the order of St. Benedict were a different class of men from those to whom I allude. Until about the twelfth century all monasteries were under the jurisdiction of the bishops. The pontiffs then began to exempt them from this jurisdiction, and to render them directly dependant on themselves. In the thirteenth century the four orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, were founded in the west ; and soon becoming incredibly numerous, and being exempted by the popes from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and invested with powers which enabled them often to compete successfully with the parochial clergy for the confidence of the people, they became the most devoted and most useful of the pontifical adherents, and as their privileges were all derived from the pope, it engaged them to magnify his power to the utmost degree. The disputes between the secular clergy and the friars and monks, or regular clergy, were continual, and have not yet ceased in the Roman communion, though by a compromise the

bishops were allowed by the synod of Trent to superintend monasteries in the character of delegates of the pope.

VI. The effect of all these causes was a vast change in the ecclesiastical system of the western churches, and the result, even after the reformation effected by the council of Trent, and the fall of the papal power, may well startle any one who compares the power and privileges of the pontiff at this moment, with that which he enjoyed during the early ages of the church.

In the early ages, each provincial synod confirmed and ordained its own metropolitan; now the pontiff alone confirms all metropolitans, and issues his bull for their ordination. *Then* every bishop, except in the suburbicarian provinces, was elected by the clergy and people, and confirmed and ordained by the metropolitan and comprovincial bishops; but now the pontiff nominates directly to many bishoprics, and *confirms* the nominations to bishoprics in all parts of the world. *Then* there was not even an *appeal* from provincial synods to the pontiff to revise the cause; and now it is not necessary to have recourse to a synod at all, but almost every cause may be carried direct to Rome. In the early ages of the church the pontiff had no immediate jurisdiction, beyond his own diocese, over clergy and laity; now he has a number of monasteries and exempt jurisdictions in all dioceses immediately depending on him; and he grants indulgences, dispensations, and licenses, which were originally granted by the bishops only.

For many ages the bishops made no engagements at their ordinations except to teach the word of God and obey the canons; now they all swear implicit obedience to the pope. There was then no obligation on all clergy to promise obedience to the pope, now all clergy are bound to it by the creed of Pius IV. All the powers and privileges which anciently belonged to the bishops of each province in common, are now vested in the Roman pontiff. They can no longer erect new or suppress old bishoprics, translate bishops, make canons without reference to the pontiff, decide controversies of faith, approve new forms of prayer, judge bishops and even metropolitans. All these,

and many other powers formerly possessed by provincial synods are now absorbed by the popes. In fine, every Romish bishop now styles himself *episcopus gratia Apostolicæ Sedis*, thus acknowledging his powers to be conferred by and to emanate from the Roman pontiff.

Such is the absorbing and universal power of the Roman see, even when its influence has sunk to the lowest ebb. The Roman pontiff is more than primate of his own Obedience. He exercises more than patriarchal, more than metropolitical power over all his churches. He acts as *universal bishop :* his interference extends to the concerns of every individual : and the bishops are only his vicars, his assistants, invested with a portion of that power of which the plenitude resides in him. Such is the theory, which is supported by the *practice* of the Roman obedience for nearly eight centuries : a theory opposed to all the tenor of scripture ; to all the testimony of catholic tradition and of the œcumenical synods.

That we should have escaped from this bondage, and resumed the enjoyment of those liberties, and the blessings of that pure faith, which Christ gave to his holy church, ought to be to us a matter of wonder and of gratitude to THE ALMIGHTY. It should lead us also to view with respect and sympathy those human agents, through whose endurance even to death, the great work of our emancipation was accomplished. Gratitude will prompt us to excuse their infirmities, to make allowance for their difficulties, to do justice to their real merits : while reason and religion will teach us carefully to avoid the danger of adopting the sentiments of mere men as the ultimate rule of our belief.

Yet our sense of divine favours to ourselves, should be mingled with the deepest regret at the divisions and the calamities of the churches of Christ, especially under the Roman obedience: nor should we ever exaggerate their errors, or render the breach greater than it is. We cannot expect, indeed, that the inveterate habit of domination in the Roman church can be exchanged for the spirit of fraternal union ; or that the impediments which it offers to the reunion of all churches can

be removed. But, while we bitterly lament the state of Christendom, let us remember that for these evils the catholic and apostolic churches of this empire are in no degree responsible: and believing as we do most firmly, that the promises, the grace, and the authority of JESUS CHRIST are with these churches, and that with them rests the responsibility of handing down pure, and unshaken, the holy faith of Jesus Christ, let us dwell in tranquillity, on these high and solemn considerations, and endeavour to fulfil our duties in the sphere which GOD has appointed to us.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH,

BY THE

REV. W. PALMER, M. A.

CONTAINING REPLIES TO VARIOUS OBJECTIONS AGAINST THAT WORK.

SUPPLEMENT.

SECTION I.

REPLY TO GENERAL OBJECTIONS.

I PROPOSE in this place to notice some arguments adduced by anonymous writers[a] against portions of this work, and to correct some misapprehensions of its doctrines. I might have trusted to time and experience for my justification, but as the discussion of objections will render this work itself more perfect on one or two points, it appears more advisable to take notice at once of what might otherwise have been left to the candid and intelligent Reader.

I shall in this section consider those general objections which seem most worthy of attention, reserving for the next the argument from prophecy.

There are two mistakes into which persons of hasty judgment may easily fall, with reference to the church of Christ.

The first is, to overlook the distinction between *articles of faith or morality clearly taught by God*, and matters of opinion, theological doctrine, and Christian prudence,[b] and to consider any deviation from sound doctrine in the one case as sinful as it would be in the other. Hence arises much of that lamentable intolerance with which all differences of opinion on religious subjects are treated by some well-meaning persons. The slightest deviation from what they see to be *true*, is stigmatized

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[a] Essays on the Church, by a Layman, 1838; British Critic, October, 1838; Frazer's Magazine, August, 1838.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 113, &c.; ii. 131, &c. 245—247.

as an apostacy from Christianity itself. Every doctrine is with them either a matter of faith or a heresy. The *truth* of any position being once clearly proved, they view it as a necessary point of faith, on which no difference of opinion can be permitted.[c]

The tendency of this inconsiderate and indiscriminating system, is to divide the church of Christ to an infinite degree, and to substitute a sectarian partizanship for that holy union in a common *faith*, and that charitable toleration of differences in other respects, which holy scripture so continually and emphatically enjoins. No Christian communion could ever have existed without such a practical admission that some differences in doctrine may be tolerated in the church; and to overlook this truth, is to prepare the way for incalculable evils.[d]

Another mistake is, that system of optimism which refuses to admit that superstition or error can ever exist in the church of Christ, and, therefore, views any society in which they may be found as *apostate*.[e] It is on this mistaken principle,

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[c] [The theory, at least, of the strong-minded reformer of Geneva was widely different. "Poterit vel in doctrinæ vel in sacramentorum administratione vitii quidpiam obrepere, quod alienare nos ab ejus (ecclesiæ alicujus particularis, sc.) communione non debeat. Non enim unius sunt formæ omnia veræ doctrinæ capita. Sunt quædam ita necessaria cognitu ut fixa esse et indubitata omnibus oporteat, ceu propria religionis placita.—Sunt alia, quæ inter ecclesias controversa, fidei tamen unitatem non divinant.—Quoniam nemo est qui non aliqua ignorantiæ nubecula obvolutus sit: aut nullam relinquamus ecclesiam oportet, aut hallucinationem condonemus in iis rebus, quæ et inviolata religionis summa et citra salutis jacturam ignorari possint."—Calvin. Institut. Lib. IV. cap. i. sect. 12.]

[d] See some very sound and judicious remarks on this subject in Dr. Hook's sermon, "A Call to Union," &c.

[e] [This class of errorists, also, stands condemned by the authority, for which it professes so great reverence, just quoted.—"Fuerunt semper qui falsa absolutæ sanctimoniæ persuasione imbuti, tanquam aerii quidam dæmones jam facti essent, omnium hominum consortium aspernarentur, in quibus humanum adhuc aliquid subesse cernerent.—Alii sunt qui inconsiderato magis justitiæ zelo quam insana illa superbia peccant.—Sed in hoc

that some persons are led to reject the visible church of Christ during the middle ages, as an antichristian society, and to seek for the fulfilment of God's promises to his church in the existence of some feeble remnant scarcely discernible amidst the ruins and apostacy of universal Christianity. It leads others to separate from every church in which any doctrine or practice exists which they do not approve. On the very same principle, a different party adhere to real errors and superstitions, believing that what has existed for some time in the church, cannot be erroneous. Thus, this principle leads on the one hand to dissent from all existing churches; and, on the other, to the retention of every error and superstition which has once gained admission into the Christian community.

In opposition to these opinions, I have endeavoured to prove that the promises of Christ to his church do not infer its freedom from faults and defects; that its unity might be impaired consistently with those promises;[f] that it was always to comprise many evil men in its external communion; that its actual sanctity would never be perfect in this world;[g] that *erroneous opinions*, not directly contrary to the articles of the faith, might prevail widely and for a long time,[h] and even be held by many in the church as articles of faith;[i] that practices productive in many cases, of *superstition*, and even *idolatry*, might extensively prevail;[k] that *heresies* might be held by some persons within the church;[l] and that a *reformation* of the church's doctrine and discipline might at some time be necessary.[m]

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vicissim peccant—quod offensioni suæ modum statuere nesciunt. Nam ubi Dominus clementiam exigit, omissa illa, totos se immoderatæ severitati tradunt. Quia enim non putant esse ecclesiam ubi non est solida vitæ puritas et integritas, sulerum odio a legitima ecclesia discedunt, dum a factione improborum declinare se putant."—Calvin. Instit. Lib. IV. cap i. sect. 13.]

[f] Vol. i. p. 85—99.
[g] Ibid. p. 137—143.
[h] Vol. ii. p. 131, &c.
[i] Ibid. p. 136.
[k] Ibid. 137.
[l] Vol. i. p. 114—116.
[m] Vol. ii. 137—141.

At the same time, it has been shown, that the visible, apostolical, and universal church is so far the ordinary way of salvation in all ages, that it is contrary to the will of God to *separate voluntarily* from its communion on any pretence whatever;[n] that the reformation of error should always be attempted *within the bosom of the church itself*;[o] but that those who have been expelled from the communion of a large part of it (as the Lutherans and Reformed were), by an abuse of authority, are not to be regarded as schismatics,[p] or out of the way of salvation.[q]

Considering what human nature is generally, and how many imperfections, errors, ignorances, and negligences may be observed in even the best and holiest men, it does seem very probable in the abstract, that a church composed of such beings should but too often manifest somewhat of the imperfections of their nature. How widely different in sanctity and purity were the various churches even in the apostolic age; and how many variations, even to the verge of spiritual death, have been experienced by individual souls which shall finally be saved. And as the heirs of salvation sometimes go astray and need repentance, so the church of Christ is sometimes far from its original sanctity and purity, overrun with scandals and abuses; yet still having the root of faith, and never denying the doctrine clearly taught by our Redeemer, it inherits the promises of God, and brings, in all nations and all ages, countless multitudes of believers (though often unlearned and superstitious) to eternal life.

Such a view of Christianity appears to me, at once, more charitable, and more conducive to the glory of God, than the doctrine of those who would consign to damnation, or exclude from the pale of Christianity, almost the whole visible church during the middle ages, and the great majority of professing

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[n] Vol. i. p. 66—79.

[o] Ibid. p. 78, 79. 298.

[p] [Not *on account of their expulsion:* whether their own procedures have not since placed them in a schismatical position, is another question.]

[q] Vol. i. p. 80. 333—368.

Christians in the east and west at the present day. Such a doctrine seems greatly to diminish the blessings of the gospel and advent of the Son of God. That advent had been ordained from the beginning of the world, predicted by the Spirit of God, seen in futurity with pious exultation by the patriarchs and prophets. The promised Saviour of all nations at length, in the fulness of time, appears on earth; the whole creation, visible and invisible, attests the greatness and glory of his mission to the human race: all announce the commencement of a new era, the diffusion of religion throughout the whole world. Accordingly, Christianity in a short time becomes universal: that grain of mustard seed becomes a mighty tree. But this triumph, we are informed, is merely transient—Christianity was to be but a short-lived blessing. It was soon to relapse, as a body, into the idolatry and wickedness of heathenism. The universal church was to become apostate, and to continue under the dominion of Satan for *twelve hundred and sixty years*, during which period the Christian religion was to be held by a mere remnant of believers. So that, according to this view, the coming of Christ, so glorious and so blessed in itself, had the result of consigning to damnation the great mass of professing Christians in all future times, and the kingdom of Satan triumphed over the church of Christ. How different is such a view from the spirit of that prayer enjoined by God himself, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them: wherefore should they say among the people, where is their God?"

While the Christian will never doubt, even in the midst of the most perplexing difficulties, that the ways of God are those of infinite wisdom and mercy, it seems to me that a pious mind should shrink from a system of interpretation which so much diminishes the glory of the gospel, and the blessings it has conferred on mankind.

I. The principles above alluded to, as advocated in this work, will clear me from all inconsistency in admitting the Roman

churches (though in several respects erroneous, superstitious, or corrupt,) to be Christian churches, and yet not acknowledging the Lutherans and reformed to constitute churches *properly speaking*, though their doctrines are in some respects more pure.[r] I admit the Roman churches to be as much, (or more,) in need of reformation, as those of Corinth, Galatia, Laodicea, Sardis, were in the apostolic age; but I also hold that the Lutherans, &c. were separated from those churches by an abuse of authority, and that, while they were not to be regarded as really cut off from Christ, they were only in an extraordinary and provisional state, deprived of several Christian privileges, and not organized according to the apostolical rule.[s] But I have excused them for this, on the ground of necessity, and have maintained that it was lawful to hold communion with them.[t] I have not denied them to be churches *on the ground* that they are overrun with Neologianism,[u] and am not inconsistent, therefore, in acknowledging the Roman to be part of the catholic church, notwithstanding its present lamentable state of error and division.

II. The allegation that it is absurd and *novel* to regard the Roman and oriental churches as a portion of the catholic church of Christ,[v] is itself a novelty, and manifestly contrary, as well to the sentiments of the reformation in general, as to the doctrine of all the most learned and respectable theologians of our own churches.

In proof that the Roman churches have always been accounted part of the catholic church, I have referred to Luther, the confession of Augsburg, to various confessions and canons of the church of England after the removal of the papal supremacy, to Hooker, Usher, Hall, Laud, Hammond, &c.[w]

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[r] Frazer's Magazine; Essays on the Church.

[s] Vol. i. p. 352, &c.

[t] Ibid. p. 359, &c.

[u] Essays on the Church.

[v] Essays on the Church.

[w] Vol. i. p. 260—264. 266, 267.

The information of Mr. Faber on this point will hardly be contested. In his work on prophecy he says, "It is observable, that *our reformers never thought of unchurching the church of Rome;* though they freely declared it to have 'erred not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.'"[x] Accordingly, he has distinctly allowed (in a passage which I subjoin in the margin) that the Roman or Latin church is at this day *a part of the catholic church of Christ.*[y] The testimony of a theologian so distinguished for his opposition to Roman errors, will perhaps clear me from the charge of any indiscreet novelty of doctrine on this point. I will only add the reply of Chillingworth with reference to the church at the period of the reformation, "We acknowledge a church there was, *corrupted indeed universally;* but yet such a one, as we hope *by God's gracious acceptance was still a church.* We pretend not to name any one society that was this church, and yet we see no reason that can enforce us to confess that yours was the church, but only *a part of it,* and that, *one of the worst then extant in the world.*"[z] Such is the rational and

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[x] Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 155, ed. 1810.

[y] "That the Latins are catholics in the same sense that the Greeks, and the Armenians, and the Syrians, and the Abyssinians, and the English, are catholics; in other words, *that the Latins constitute one of the many branches of Christ's universal church,* I am far from wishing to deny; but when a generic name is applied specifically to a single particular branch, this palpable inaccuracy of nomenclature can only produce a correspondent erroneousness of conception. The name catholic belongs equally to all the members of Christ's catholic church, wherever dispersed, or however distressed. Hence, a name, which belongs equally to all, whether oriental or occidental, cannot be correctly employed as the special and exclusive and descriptive appellation of a part only: because, when the term is thus used, the common character of catholicism is by implication denied to every Christian, who happens not to be a member of that provincial western church which is in communion with the bishop of Rome," &c. Difficulties of Romanism, preface, p. xviii. 1st ed.

[z] Chillingworth, Religion of Protestants, c. v. s. 27.

charitable view taken by our theologians, who recognize the existence of the Christian church (amidst many defects and corruptions) as a great society, a mighty company of believers in all nations and all ages.

III. Another point on which objections have been raised against this work, is with reference to the presbyterian community in Scotland.[a] I should regret to see that establishment subverted by the infidel and sectarian party united against it; and I have expressly maintained that it is lawful for the sovereign of these realms to take an oath to defend that establishment, and his obligation to fulfil that oath.[b] I am happy to think that good and able men exist among presbyterians; and though we cannot regard them as a portion of the catholic church, yet Christian charity will prevent us from regarding them generally as guilty of the sin of schism, and will lead us to hope for their acceptance by the free, though uncovenanted, mercy of God. But these observations do not apply to the *originators of the presbyterian schism.* They separated from the established church of Scotland in the reign of Charles II. and formed conventicles, on the principle that episcopacy, liturgies, &c. were *antichristian.* It is admitted now, even by the presbyterians themselves, that such a principle cannot be sustained; and therefore the separation of their ancestors was unjustifiable, and contrary to the divine commandments; and the mere act of the temporal legislature, which established this sect at the revolution, could not render it a church of Christ. Had they merely held the presbyterian form of church-government preferable to the episcopal, they would not have separated from the church. They did not act on this principle, but on the exaggerated doctrine, that episcopacy was *antichristian.* I am not guilty, therefore, of the alleged inconsistency[c] of

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[a] Essays on the Church; Frazer's Magazine.

[b] Vol. ii. p. 337.

[c] Essays on the Church, p. 345.

condemning them for *acting* on a principle admitted to be in itself harmless.

IV. I have not anywhere maintained that the whole catholic church "does even at this day preach everywhere one and the same doctrine, and that the true doctrine, except in *very minor and secondary points*, or except as popular errors interfere with it."[d] A reference to what I have above stated (p. 533.) will show that I am not, *in principle*, bound to sustain this position; nor do I practically admit it, because, in my opinion, several of the errors and abuses of the Roman church are of a very important nature, and very detrimental to Christian piety, though they be not, strictly speaking, contrary to the articles of faith.

V. I know not what part of my work has led to the notion that I hold "that the faith of the church admits of addition," and that "any doctrine which has once been generally received must be apostolic, or, in other words, that the majority cannot be wrong."[e] I have expressly argued against the latter position:[f] as to the former, I have distinctly stated that the articles of our faith were but once revealed, and admit of no addition.[g] Perhaps it may be supposed that in admitting that before the universal church has decided some question of controversy different opinions may be held without heresy, while I hold that after the judgment of the church there should be no more diversity,[h] I may seem to admit the articles of faith to be capable of addition. This was not my intention. I only mean that in the heat of controversy, when different opinions are supported by men of learning, it may for a time be doubtful what the revealed truth is, and therefore persons may for a time not receive that truth—may even hold what is contrary to it; and yet, until the authority of the universal church has decided the question and left them without excuse, they may be free from

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[d] British Critic, p. 364. [e] British Critic, p. 368, 369.
[f] Vol. ii. p. 131, &c. [g] Vol. i. p. 99. [h] Ibid. p. 114, &c., ii. p. 111.

the guilt of formal heresy. I only speak here of controversies which the church had not decided in former ages; or in which the testimony of tradition as well as scripture is disputed.

SECTION II.

OBJECTIONS FROM THE PROPHECIES.

It has been alleged that the system of this treatise in admitting the Latin and Greek churches of the middle ages to have been churches of Christ, is in direct opposition to the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which represent the visible church as apostate, and subject to the dominion of Antichrist for 1260 years, during which period the true church of faithful believers is reduced to the smallest possible limits.[j]

That such an interpretation of the prophecies has been held by the majority of English commentators for the last century, may be conceded, without allowing their views to be in any degree obligatory on us. The minority may have been more sound in their interpretations, as we know that the more prevalent opinion at some time, even in the universal church, may be mistaken. And besides this, it appears, that if in the eighteenth century the doctrines of Mede on this subject were generally received, they had been as generally neglected or rejected in the preceding century; and it is very probable that the present age may follow its example, and revive the ancient system of interpretation.

In the interpretation and application of these prophecies, the most perfect liberty is exercised by every writer. Thus Mr. Faber denies the pope to be Antichrist, though the majority of protestant interpreters hold a different view.[k] Dr. Croly in

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[j] Essays on the Church.

[k] In this Mr. Greswell agrees with him. See his very interesting collection of the doctrines of the Fathers concerning Antichrist, &c. Exposition of the Parables, vol. i. p. 368—396.

like manner explodes the system of interpreting the number 666 which has always hitherto been most prevalent. I beg to claim the same liberty in examining the objections adduced to my work from prophecy.

I. That the true church of Christ was, for 1260 years to be a little flock, while the visible catholic church was to be given up to Gentile abominations, is argued from the vision of "the temple," and "the two witnesses," (Rev. xi.) in which the angel measures "the temple of God, the altar, and them that worship therein," while the "court without the temple," is not measured, but "given unto the Gentiles," who tread down "the holy city" for forty-two months; and the two witnesses prophecy in sackcloth for 1260 days.

The temple of God, the altar, and the two witnesses are supposed to symbolize the small number of true believers; the outer court to mean the visible catholic church, and the forty-two months, or 1260 days, to mean 1260 years, during which the "holy city," or visible church, is given up to heathenism.

This view rests entirely on the assumption that the 1260 days of the prophecy are to be understood figuratively as years, according to the doctrine of Mede, Jurieu, Newton, Faber, Cunningham, Croly, &c.: but the weight of authority is altogether opposed to this figurative interpretation. The days and months of the Apocalypse were understood literally by all the fathers and ecclesiastical writers to the fourteenth century; and in later times, by Scaliger, Forbes, Bullinger, Broughton, Lightfoot, Langius, Venema, Leydekker, Bengelius, Roos, Wetstein, Grotius, Hammond, Brown, Michaelis, Herder, Storr, Bertholdt, Dathe,[l] and many others.[m] The able argu-

[l] See Maitland's Second Enquiry into the grounds on which the prophetic period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years, p. 37.

[m] See Mr. Maitland's various Tracts, Dodsworth's Advent Lectures, Hoblyn's Land of Subaeim, the works of Witherby and others referred to by Maitland in the work cited above.

ments of Mr. Maitland in particular, against the figurative interpretation, have been as yet unanswered. Another doctrine, supported by Paræus, Durham, &c., supposes these numbers to be entirely mystical, and expressive of no particular time, as the "seven spirits of God," (v. 6.) and the 144,000 sealed, (vii. 4.) the "two hundred thousand thousand" horsemen (ix. 16.) are believed to be.[n] The ancient writers generally, and many modern interpreters, suppose that this prophecy will only be fulfilled in the times of Antichrist, immediately before the second advent of the Son of God.

Interpreters who adopt the figurative doctrine, are by no means agreed in the application of this prophecy. Mede supposes the temple, altar, &c. to signify the whole catholic church in primitive times. Newton views in them the few real Christians who, during the reign of the papacy, preserved the true religion. The "holy city," trodden down by the Gentiles, is by some writers held a type of the catholic church overwhelmed by idolatry and superstition: but others, amongst whom we may name Hales, Wells, Whitaker, consider it to be literally Jerusalem; and the Gentiles here spoken of, are, according to Dr. Wells, the Mahommedans, who have so long possessed that holy city.[o] As to "the two witnesses," there is a still greater diversity. While Mede, Newton, Hales, and some others, understand them to symbolize those few individuals who should uphold the truth in opposition to the idolatry and corruptions of the visible church, others, as Frere, Irving, Croly, &c., believe them to signify the scriptures. Mr. Galloway, following Collier, More, and Napier, holds them to be the Old and New Testaments: Mr. Faber originally believed them to be the church before and after Christ, but now acknowledges them to be the Albigenses and Waldenses. Clayton holds them to be the prophecies of Daniel and St. John; Brightman, the scriptures and the congregation of the faithful.[p]

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[n] Pole, Synopsis.

[o] Wells, Paraphrase *in loc.*

[p] The fathers believed the two witnesses would be Elijah and Enoch. See Greswell on the Parables, vol. i. p. 368, 369.

The conclusion we may draw is, that a prophecy, in the interpretation of which commentators differ so widely, is most probably as yet unfulfilled; and that it has no reference to the Christian church as existing up to the present time. If it should be supposed, however, to relate to the past condition of the church, all we can learn from it seems to be, that the Christian church should always be preserved, that a portion of it should be subject to the temporal dominion of unbelievers, and that they should be in possession of the city of Jerusalem for some period of time.

II. The next argument, by which it is attempted to prove that the true church was for 1260 years to be invisible, or at least in a state of the deepest suffering and calamity, is deduced from the symbol of the woman, persecuted by the dragon with seven heads and ten horns, and obliged to flee "*into the wilderness*, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her a thousand two hundred and threescore days." (Rev. xii.)

In this prophecy the same question recurs as in the last, whether these days are to be understood literally or figuratively. If the former be admitted, this prophecy affords no objection to the doctrine of this work; but if the latter theory be adopted, it does now follow that the church of Christ is to be reduced to insignificant limits. Dr. Wells understands the flight into the wilderness as referring to that of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt into a place where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, and had their tabernacle, &c., yet not in the same glory as they afterwards had in the promised land. "So by the flying of the woman into the wilderness may likewise here be fitly denoted the state of the Christian church, from after the time that it was delivered from the oppression of the heathen emperors till the second coming of Christ, forasmuch as it has since enjoyed the freedom of openly professing and worshipping Christ, and of building noble and magnificent churches for that purpose, though it has been unhappy on account of many sorts of apostacy, as was likewise the church of Israel in the wilderness." The wilderness signifies, according to him "a safe

though not a flourishing and glorious condition." Irving regards the woman's flight into the wilderness as symbolical of the primitive church betaking "herself to the fastness given her of God, which is *a true and well-grounded faith*." The woman sitting on the beast (chapter xvii.) is also seen in the wilderness, and therefore this state, whatever it implies, does not seem peculiar to the true worshippers of God. There is, therefore, no proof from this passage that the true church was not to be visible and universal during the middle ages.

III. As to the application of the symbols of the ten-horned and two-horned beasts (Rev. chap. xiii.) to the papacy and the churches subject to it, I would only observe, that by such an interpretation the whole of Christendom for many ages is virtually consigned to DAMNATION. Of the first beast it is said, "All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him" (xiii. 8). Of the second, that "he caused all, both small and great," &c. to receive a mark (verse 16). In the following chapter (verses 9—11), it is declared, that "if any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark," the same shall be "*tormented with fire and brimstone, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.*" Therefore, all members of the Roman communion at this day; all our own forefathers; all the whole body of western Christendom for many hundreds of years before the reformation, must be in a state of DAMNATION; and as the oriental churches have been as blameable in the use of images and the honouring of saints as their western brethren, they must be included in the same condemnation. So that this interpretation leaves almost the whole Christian world for twelve or thirteen centuries in a state of perdition. "Judge not, that ye be not judged: condemn not, that ye be not condemned."

The ten-horned beast was, by the fathers, supposed to be the same as Antichrist, who, according to them, was only to appear immediately before the end of the world. Of modern interpreters, some believe it to be the papacy, or the papal church: by others, it is variously understood as the secular Roman

empire, the Turkish empire, the Greek empire, the pagan Roman empire, the Devil. The ten-horned beast appears to be the little horn of Daniel, both having the same characteristics of speaking great things, blaspheming against God, or speaking great words against the Most High, (Rev. xiii. 5—7. Dan. vii. 20—25), clearly alluding to a directly *infidel power;* and of making war and obtaining power (Rev. xiii. 4. 7; Dan. vii. 21. 24), pointing to an *earthly conqueror*. As to the two-horned beast, all the modern commentators are so divided as to its signification, that no argument can be founded on so obscure a symbol.[h]

IV. The symbol of the woman sitting on many waters, (Rev. xvii.) or of the mystical Babylon, (chap. xviii.) from which the people of God are exhorted to "come out," is alleged as an infallible proof that the visible catholic church during the middle ages was apostate, and that it was and is the duty of Christians to separate from her communion. It is argued that the symbol of an adulterous woman necessarily points to an apostate *church;* yet we find that both Nineveh and Babylon are spoken of in the prophecies under the figure of women, (Nahum iii. 4; Isaiah xlvii.) and whoredom is imputed to Babylon (Ezek. xxiii. 17), to Nineveh (Nah. iii. 4,) and to Tyre (Is. xxiii. 17), though they were certainly no part of the church of God. It seems that this prophecy relates to the final destruction of that great city of Rome which for so long a period exercised dominion over the world. Like Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre, it is at last to be destroyed, and to remain a wonderful example of God's judgments. Whether amongst the fornications and sins which shall finally bring down on it the divine vengeance, be included the errors and sins of the papacy, it is hard to say. Heathen Rome seems to have been in the apostle's contemplation when

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[h] *E. g.* compare the opinions of Newton, Sharpe, Lowman, Mede, Woodhouse, Hales, Forster, Croly, Kett, Galloway and Bicheno, which are all at variance with each other.

he wrote, as his predictions are almost all borrowed from those of the ancient prophets concerning the destruction of heathen Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre.

Many of the circumstances relied on to prove that the description refers to papal Rome, are applied by the prophets to heathen cities. Thus Nineveh is a "harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms," (Nah. iii. 4.) Babylon sitteth "upon many waters," (Jer. li. 13.) Tyre commits fornication with "all the kingdoms of the world," (Is. xxiii. 17.) Babylon is described as a "golden cup in the Lord's hand that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunk of her wine; therefore the nations are mad. Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed." (Jerem. li. 7, 8.) In the same manner it is said by Jeremiah, "Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompense" (verse 6). Babylon also said, "I shall be a lady for ever, I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children" (Is. xlvii. 7, 8). The princes of the sea, the merchants, mariners, pilots, &c. lament the fall of Tyre, (Ezek. xxvi. xxvii.) and say "what city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea . . . . thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandize" (Ezek. xxvii. 32, 33). Amongst her various merchandize are mentioned "the persons of *men*" (verse 13). Whoever compares these and the other connected predictions concerning Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre, with those of the xviith and xviiith chapters of the Apocalypse, can (I think) scarcely avoid the admission that the latter *may* refer only to heathen Rome.

Supposing, however, that they refer also to *papal Rome*, still it seems a most unreasonable and strained interpretation to extend the condemnation to *all the churches subject to Rome*, or to apply the exhortation of the angel to "*come out*" of that devoted city, (*i. e.* when the signs of its approaching destruction appear,) to urge the necessity of forsaking the communion of these churches. Such an interpretation is wholly gratuitous,

perfectly uncalled for by the context, and contrary to all the principles of unity laid down by the word of God.

V. That the Christian church generally was to become apostate and be given over to false and idolatrous worship, is further argued from St. Paul's prophecy of the man of sin (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4).

In this prophecy there is no note of time which can lead to the belief that the apostacy here spoken of was to continue for many centuries; and the view which connects it with the Roman churches has appeared unsatisfactory to many eminent critics and commentators, such as Grotius, Hammond, Fell, Whitby, Wells, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Rosenmüller, Nisbett, &c. If indeed this view be upheld, it seems necessary to suppose that all members of those churches, and even our own ancestors, were in a state of DAMNATION; for the apostle says of the subjects of the man of sin, "God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth," &c. (verse 11, 12).

It appears to me that the man of sin is a directly *infidel and anti-christian power*, like the little horn and the wilful king of Daniel (see Dan. vii. 25; xi. 36). The expression, "who opposeth himself and exalteth himself *above* all that is called God, or that is worshipped," (verse 4.) seems to point to nothing short of this. It is needless to say that the Roman pontiffs in the very height of their arrogance, have only pretended to be *vicars* of Jesus Christ, and only received worship or honour as such. If one or two of the canonists have impiously styled the bishop of Rome a God on earth, it is scarcely sufficient to prove that he "exalteth *himself* above all that is called God," or that he "sheweth *himself* that *he* is God." It is argued that the man of sin must *already* have come, because, according to the fathers, "what letteth" or hindereth his revelation, was the Roman empire, which has been extinct for many ages: but I reply that that empire may still be considered to exist in the kingdoms into which it was divided.

VI. As to the apostacy of the latter days, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) which

Mede, Newton, and others have applied to the worship of saints, the celibacy of the clergy, and the rules of fasting in the eastern and western churches, it seems to me very plain, that the apostle is referring to some errors which were then immediately to be taught; for he says, (verse 6.) "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ;" whence it seems that Christians were, even in the time of Timothy, to be exposed to the danger of contamination by such heresies. And, accordingly, we know that the Gnostics, who arose about that time, actually "forbad marriage," and enjoined "abstinence from meats." These doctrines were maintained for many ages by the various sects of Gnostics, Manichæans, Paulicians, and Albigenses; and it does appear to me, that they much more *accurately* fulfilled this prophecy than did the eastern or western churches, which only forbad that some of their offices should be filled by married clergy. If, however, this prophecy be supposed to refer ultimately to corruption within the church, it only informs us that "*some* shall depart from the faith," not *the whole body of the church.* Therefore, there is no proof from this passage that the catholic church was to be apostate for many centuries.

VII. The Homilies of the church of England are alleged in proof of her applying the prophecies above referred to, to the Roman church. Thus the sermon of Obedience, (part iii.) affirms that the bishop of Rome "ought rather to be called Antichrist" than the vicar of Christ. I reply, that the term is is here used with reference to the false doctrines taught by the popes; and in the same sense, every false teacher may be called Antichrist. In the sermon of Idolatry, (part iii.) the idolatrous church, or the idolatrous part of the visible church, is *compared* to the woman in the Apocalypse, c. xvii. and xviii.; but it is not affirmed that the Roman church is actually that woman. In like manner, the sermon against wilful Rebellion, (part vi.) styles the bishop of Rome in the time of king John, "the Babylonical beast of Rome," probably intending to compare him to that beast on account of his ambition, blasphemy,

and other wickedness; but not teaching or defining that those prophecies were really fulfilled by the papacy. Such merely casual expressions cannot determine the sense of the church on this matter.

I doubt not that the observations which I have been obliged to make on certain modern interpretations of prophecy, will be unpalatable to several worthy and respectable persons. To them its application to the church of Rome appears clear and unquestionable; and the opinion of those modern English writers whom they have perused on this point, seems an authority which it is perilous to resist. I should not voluntarily have entered on the subject, but having been publicly charged with holding a view of the church inconsistent with the predictions of holy scripture, and challenged to defend my positions against arguments deduced from them, I have had no remedy, except that of examining the value of such arguments. I would add, that if others can derive from the prophecies any arguments against the papacy which do not interfere with the clear and certain prophecies of the universality and perpetuity of the Redeemer's kingdom, no one will more willingly receive them than myself. The Papacy is a grievous evil to the Christian church. The continuance of errors and corruptions, the decay of wholesome discipline, the divided state of Christendom, are all, in a great measure, attributable to the usurpations and ambition of the Roman see. But God forbid, that we should rest our arguments against the errors of Rome on so sandy a foundation as these modern interpretations of the prophecies. We have a much simpler and surer way, in proving that those errors are unauthorized by the Word of God, and inconsistent with it; that they are mere human inventions, and productive of consequences practically, which are injurious to Christian faith and piety. When this has been proved, the Roman church is at once convicted of doing wrong in retaining and imposing as dogmas of the faith such human inventions: the Reformation is shewn to have been justifiable and essential: our obligation to promote its exten-

sion to the Roman churches is manifested; while at the same time we do not consign to IRRETRIEVABLE DAMNATION almost the whole mass of Christendom for more than a thousand years, nor permit the infidel and the scorner to ask in triumph, "Where is that kingdom whose grandeur was predicted in such glowing terms by the ancient prophets; and where the benefit to mankind of the incarnation of the eternal Son of God?" We appeal to *facts:* we see and *prove* the corruptions of the Eastern and Western churches; but we are not compelled to exaggerate those errors, nor forced to attribute to all alike, those superstitions which many unquestionably reject. This is one of the great evils of the systems of interpretation to which I allude. Their tendency is to produce an exaggerated view of errors, an indiscriminate censure unsupported by fact, in order to justify the awful sentence of damnation denounced by scripture against those whom they identify with the visible churches of Christendom.

INDEX.

Absolution, a sacrament, according to the church of England, i. 476; its conditions, ii. 280.
Adoration of Christ in the eucharist, i. 293; whether idolatrous, 293, 294.
Agapæ, ii. 71, 72.
America, the church there, i. 285, 286.
Annates, rightly suppressed in England, i. 402.
Appeals to Roman see, rightly forbidden in England, i. 405, 406; not customary in early times, ii. 483, &c.
Arianism, never overpowered the orthodox faith, ii. 167, 168, 181-189.
Article VI., its meaning, ii. 11; its principle defended, 11-28; its doctrine on deductions from scripture defended, 48, &c.
——— XVIII., i. 41.
——— XIX., i. 55. 62. 296.
——— XX., i. 55. 217.
——— XXIV., i. 56.
——— XXVI., i. 56.
——— XXXIII., i. 56.
——— XXXIV., i. 56; explained, i. 452; its principle maintained, ii. 66-71.
Articles, thirty-nine, ii. 242-269; not drawn up on a latitudinarian principle, i. 479, 480; of the Gallican church, ii. 255-262.
Authority of church, admitted by Dr. Milner to be held by the church of England, i. 219. See *Church*.
Athanasian Creed, approved by the reformation, i. 107, 108.

Baptism makes us members of the church, i. 144, 145. 376; of heretics, ii. 31, 32. 73; trine immersion not necessary, 73.
Basire, his reception in the eastern church, i. 180, 181.
Bedel, ii. 331.
Bishoprics, number of, in the primitive church, i. 198.
Blood, eating of, ii. 32.
Bossuet, conference between him and Claude, ii. 85.
British Churches, their antiquity, i. 207, 208; succession, 210; provide for internal unity, 210, 211, 212; and unity with the catholic church, 213; never separated from the catholic church, 213, 214; never excommunicated by it, 216; preserve unity of faith, 217; revere universal tradition, 217. 454-464; differences of doctrine between them and other churches no proof of heresy, 221-223; their doctrine as to sanctity, 224; their saints, 225; their catholicity, 227; the name of catholic belongs to them, 227, 228; their ministry apostolical, 228; slanderous tales of papists, 229; are the true church of Christ in these realms, 230-232; contrast between their reformation and the origin of dissent, 382, 383; not responsible for the character and conduct of Henry VIII., &c., 397-400; free from all schism in suppressing jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, 410, 411; never separated from the catholic church, 411-419; not schismatical for refusing to send bishops to the synod of Trent, 415, 416; their principle opposed to schism, 417; schism retorted on their adversaries, 419, &c.; their doctrine on the eucharist, 484-490.
British Reformation, not schismatical, i. 401, &c.; its essential principle, 417, 418; not founded in Erastian principles, 426-441; schismatically overthrown in the reign of Mary, 443. 446; restored in the reign of Elizabeth, 447, &c.; its principles with regard to tradition and church

authority, 454-464; its variations in doctrine and discipline free from all heresy, 465-491.
Bucer, i. 473, 474, 475.
Bulls, for ecclesiastisal promotions, lawfully forbidden in England, i. 403.
Buonaparte, his concordate with Pius VII., and proceedings in ecclesiastical affairs, i. 326-329.
Burnet, his opinion of transubstantiation, i. 205.

Cally, his doctrine on the eucharist, ii. 161.
Calvinists, not properly churches of Christ, i. 352, &c.
Canon Law, Roman, ii. 201.
Catholic, name of, belongs to English churches, i. 227, 228; a sin to give it to papists, 279.
Celibacy of the clergy, ii. 421-426.
Censures, ii. 277, &c.
Ceremonies, removed at the reformation, not all to be condemned, i. 476.
Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, his conduct, i. 182.
Chapters, their origin, ii. 379.
Church, not a mere voluntary association, i. 27, 28; perpetuity of, 30, &c.; salvation in it, 36, &c.; doctrine of its invisibility, when invented, 55; separation from it inexcusable, 75; its catholicity acknowledged by dissenters, 73; its communion divided, 92; its unity in faith not necessarily perfect, 118, 119; its sanctity, 137, &c.; its univesality, 150, &c.; it is derived from the apostles, how, 160; its authority revered by the reformation, 336. 338. 344-352; its authority in matters of faith limited to its proper objects, ii. 94; has a right to judge in controversies of faith, 94-98; the modes of her judgments, 100-103; conditions of ecclesiastical judgments, 104-106; authority of universal judgments of the church, 107-127; church need not possess always an organized tribunal for judging controversies, 128-130; her authority in discipline and rites, 270-273; her discipline, 274-283; original independence of the state, 295; her temporal establishment, 306-309.
Churches, particular, do not divide the catholic church, i. 67; number of, in the early ages, 198.
Circle, argument in a, ii. 84.
Civil Constitution of the French clergy, i. 324-326.
Claude, conference between him and Bossuet, ii. 85.
Clerks, ii. 386.
Communion, in both kinds, i. 416 476. 501; ii. 70; doctrine of the synod of Constance, 217, 218.
Concordate between Buonaparte and Pius VII., founding the new Gallican church, i. 326, &c.
Confession, not condemned by the British churches, i. 477, 478.
Confirmation, ii. 70.
Controversy, right of suppressing it, ii. 249-254.
Convocations, submission of the clergy with reference to them justified, i. 430, 431; their origin and nature, ii. 332-336.
Council, see *Synod*.
Courayer, ii. 161.
Cranmer, his veneration for tradition and the catholic church, i. 456, 457; his doctrine on the eucharist how excused, 471-472; his conduct justified with respect to the oath, 492-496; free from dissimulation, 496-501; excused for his opinions on ordination, 501, 502; other unjust imputations, 502-504.
Creed of Pius IV., why unlawful to be subscribed, i. 297.

Deacons, ii. 382, &c.
Deaconesses, ii. 71.
Declaration of the Gallican church in 1682, ii. 256-262.
Decretals, spurious, ii. 133, 134. 516-518.
Decretum, ii. 201. 518, 519.
Degradation, ii. 280.
Departed, the, prayer for them, i. 477; ii. 71.
Des Cartes, his doctrine on the eucharist, ii. 161.
Des Gabets, ii. 161.
Deprivation of bishops by the temporal power, i. 440; ii. 325; in the reign of Elizabeth justified, i. 447, &c.
Discipline, what is lawful, ii. 66-71; what is variable and what invariable, 71-76.
Dispensations from the Roman pontiff lawfully forbidden in England, i. 407.
Dissent, what it is, i. 68; founded in schism and heresy, and cut off from the church of Christ, 368-372; adopts and fosters schism on principle, 374; has no protection against heresy, 375; is merely human, 374, 375; alters the discipline of Jesus Christ, 377,

378; causes hypocrisy or vanity, 379, 380; self-condemned, 380, 381; not apostolical, 381, 382; contrast between the reformation of the British churches, and the origin of dissent, 383, 384.
Dissenters, inconsistent in attacking the church on the point of the regal supremacy, i. 245, 246; and on subscription to creeds and articles, 249; and on defective discipline, 251; and on the use of rites and discipline not mentioned in scripture, ii. 70.
Donatists, their heresy, i. 76; schism, 81.
Doyle, his sentiments of the church of England i. 222.
Du Pin, his sentiments as to the necessity of communion with Rome, i. 214, 267.
Durand, his doctrine on the eucharist, ii. 213.

Ecclesiastical courts, ii. 277–283.
Elevation of the eucharist, when introduced, i. 291; its meaning, 292, 293.
Ems, synod of, its proposal for ecclesiastical reform, 1785, i. 309.
Episcopate, instituted by the apostles, ii. 354–364; obligatory on all churches, 365.
Errors, not always heretical, i. 113, &c.
Eucharist, see *Real Presence. Idolatry. Water.*
Eutychians, see *Monophysites.*
Excommunication, conditions requisite to, i. 79, 80, 81. 112; various sorts of it, 96; not given to the king, 431. ii. 304; the greater, 277; lesser, 278; ipso facto, ib.
Eybel, condemned by Pius VI., is protected by Joseph II., i. 310.

Faith, matters of, what, i. 112; relation of the church to it, ii. 77, &c.; may be founded on human testimony, 79, 81; divine and human faith, 80; resolution of faith, 82; act of faith in scripture possible on human testimony, 83; faith not necessarily founded on examination, 88, 89.
Fasting, i. 237.
Fathers, arguments against them noticed, ii. 51–65.
France, origin and progress of Jansenism there, i. 301–305; civil constitution of the clergy, 324–326.

Gallican Articles. ii. 257–262.

Henry VIII., our churches not responsible for his views and conduct, i. 396, &c.; nor for the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine, 399; nor for his suppression of monasteries, 400; defended by bishop Tunstall against the charge of confounding regal and sacerdotal powers, 413; his acts in ecclesiastical affairs, 432–440.
Heresiarchs, appear as angels, i. 111.
Heresy, what, i. 101; a damnable sin, 102, 103.
Heretics, their ordinations, ii. 406, &c.
Heretics, who are reckoned such by the second œcumenical synod, i. 84; excluded from the church, 106; may be excommunicated, 110–112; sometimes tolerated by the Roman church, 234.
Holland, Jansenism in, i. 302.
Hontheim, De, his reforming principles, i. 305.
Host, adoration of the, 291–294.
Humbert, cardinal, his arrogance, i. 183.

Idolatry, not to be imputed to the whole church, i. 288; how far justly imputed to veneration of the eucharist, 291–294. 499; to invocation of saints, 477.
Images, worship of forbidden in England, i. 467; reasons for it, 468; removed, 475, 476; their worship not approved by the catholic church, ii. 189–202; lead to idolatry, i. 178; do not render a church apostate, 204.
Immaculate Conception, ii. 137. 159. 252.
Imposition of hands essential in ordination, i. 171.
Indifference in religion, its origin and supporters, i. 252–258; not imputable to the church of England, 256–258; its dreadful prevalence in the Roman church, 321–323.
Indulgences, i. 467.
Infidelity in the Roman churches, i. 319–323.
Interdict, ii. 279.
Invocation of saints, i. 203. 294. 468. 477.
Ireland, church of, when subdued by the Roman pontiff, i. 505; its reformation, 505, &c.; imperfect in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., 506, 507; reformation in reign of Elizabeth, 506–509; approved by the church, 507, 508; schism of the

papists, see *Papists;* synods in Ireland lawful, ii. 331.
Irregularity, ii. 279. 413.

Jansenism, its condemnation as a heresy, i. 299; general view of its influence in the eighteenth century, 300, 301; its progress in France and Flanders, 301. 302; the appeal against the bull Unigenitus, 303, &c.; Soanen and other Gallican bishops favourable to Jansenism, 304; Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques, 304; violent proceedings of the French parliaments, 304, 305; Jansenism in Germany, 305; De Hontheim and the reforming theologians, 305, 306; reforms of Joseph II., 306, 307; promotes Jansenism, 307, 308; in Italy, 310; Naples, 311; Tuscany, 311; 312; Portugal, 313; Holland, 314, British empire, 315–317.
Jansenists, their pretended miracles, i. 275.
Joseph II., emperor of Germany, his reforms in ecclesiastical affairs, i. 306, 307.
Jurieu, his error, i. 85. 133, 134.

Kneeling at the eucharist, i. 472.

La Mennais, his account of the irreligious state of the Roman churches, i. 321, 322.
Labre, the Venerable, a Jansenist, i. 275.
Latin patriarchs in the East instituted, i. 190.
Lord's day, observation of, ii. 33. 72.
Luther, not a schismatic, i. 333–337.
Lutherans, not schismatics, i. 337–342; were not properly churches of Christ, 352, &c.

Matrimony, a sacrament according to the church of England, i. 469, 481.
Methodius, archbishop of Twer, commended, i. 178. 180.
Middleton, his calumnies of the fathers, ii. 54; his complaints of the respect paid them by the church of England, 63.
Millenium, ii. 48, 49.
Milner, his admission as to the reverence of the English church for the authority of the church, i. 219.
Ministry, Christian, essential to the church, and must always exist, i. 160, &c.; necessity of divine vocation, 164–167; internal vocation insufficient, 167; popular election insufficient, 168; apostolical succession necessary, 169, &c.
Miracles not the proper attestations of sanctity, i. 146–149; not performed by the most famous saints, 147; claimed by the eastern church, 202; by various sects, 275.
Missi Dominici, what, i. 432.
Mixture of the cup in the eucharist non-essential, ii. 73.
Monastic orders, their corruption, i. 277.
Monophysites, their origin, i. 388, 389; form no part of the church of Christ, 389, 390.

Naples, Jansenism there, i. 311.
National synods, their authority in matters of faith, i. 417.
"*Necessary Doctrine*," its authority in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., i. 468, 469; compared with the Articles, 481, 482.
Nestorians, their origin, i. 385, 386; do not form part of the Christian church, 387.
Notes of the church, what, i. 45; various notes assigned by theologians, i. 46–48.
Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques, a Jansenist journal, i. 304.
Novatians, schismatics, i. 81.

Oath of bishops to the Roman pontiff, i. 492–495.
O'Conor, his opinion of differences between the English and Roman churches, i. 223.
Œcumenical Patriarch, title how ancient, i. 202.
Opinions, common, may be mistaken, ii. 131–137.
Ordination, its necessity, i. 160, &c.; ii. 72; a sacrament, 417–419.
Ordinations of Lutherans and Calvinists, i. 356; per saltum, ii. 415; English, their validity, 427–434.
Oriental churches, their extent, i. 176; are Christian churches, 177, &c.; acknowledge seven œcumenical synods, 178; their great saints, 179; their opinion of other churches, 180; intercourse between them and the British churches, 180, 181; schism caused by Cerularius and cardinal Humbert, 182, 183; communion continued afterwards, 183, &c.; oriental churches persecuted by the Latins, 190; division after synod of Lyons

caused by the Roman pontiff, 194; oriental churches free from heresy, 196, 197; equal in extent to the western, 198, 199, 200.
Oxford, University of, her censure of false doctrines, ii. 286, 287.

Palls, not necessary to metropolitans, and lawfully forbidden to be received from Rome, i. 405; when given, ii. 521.
Papal infallibility, the doctrine tends to schism, i. 420.
Papists, of England and Ireland, infected with Jansenism, i. 315–317; infected with infidelity, 317, 318; committed schism in separating from the catholic church in England, 421–423; are not churches of Christ, 424; commencement of their schism in Ireland, 509; ignorance of the Irish people, 509; arts of popish emissaries, 509; schism founded by Creagh, 510, 511; dangers of the schismatics, 512; they break into rebellion, 512; treasons of popish missionaries, 512; the Roman pontiffs excite insurrection, 513; shameful mode of propagating the new sect, 514; treasons of the pseudo-bishops, 515, &c.; their cruelty, 518; origin of this sect, 518; have no succession of bishops, 520; form no part of the catholic church, 521, 522; their chicanery with regard to the English ordinations, 229; ii. 428–434; of America no part of the church, i. 285; their orders probably null, ii. 443, &c.
Paris, University of, ii. 284, 285.
Parker, archbishop, his ordination, i. 450.
Perpétuité de la Foi, i. 180. 186.
Peter, St. his superiority to the other apostles, ii. 452; not invested with authority over them, 453–465; his superiority strictly personal, 466–469.
Peter Martyr, i. 413, 474, 475.
Plato, archbishop of Moscow, his writings, i. 178. 180. 205.
Prayer for the departed, i. 476; ii. 73.
Presbyters, ii. 374, &c.
Presbyterians, their origin, i. 527; their persecution of the church, 528; their ordinations, ii. 389, &c.
Princes, Christian, their duty to defend the Christian faith, ii. 298, &c.; origin of their supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, 303; mode in which they are to defend the church, 316–319; branches of their ecclesiastical supremacy, 318–324.
Private judgment, unlimited not the doctrine of the English Reformation, i. 493, &c.; nor of the Lutherans, &c., 348–352.
Procession of the Holy Ghost, i. 197,
Purgatory, when rejected by the British church, i. 466.

Rationalists, their mode of assailing Christianity, ii. 51–55; their inconsisteney, 55; their misrepresentations, 58, 59; their hypocrisy, 60, 61.
Real presence, never doubted by the church of England, i. 468–475. 479–491.
Reformation, its respect for catholic tradition, i. 345–348; its principles and practice opposed to license of private judgment, 348–302.
Ricci, see *Scipio de Ricci*.
Rites, what are lawful, ii. 66–71; what are variable, and what invariable, 71–76.
Roman churches, remained Christian till the Reformation, i. 259–264; Lutheran opinion of their Christianity, 260, 261; remained Christian after the Reformation, 265, &c.; excused from heresy, 266–268; are now Christian, 271, 272; do not exceed other churches in unity, 289, 290; or sanctity, 273, &c.; their miracles no proof of superior sanctity, 274, 275; their present extent no proof of exclusive catholicity, 277; not peculiarly apostolical, 279; their lamentable condition, 380, 381; Roman churches of modern foundation, 283; how far they are guilty of idolatry in the eucharist, 290–294; in the invocation or adoration of saints, 296, 297; whether lawful to separate from them, 316, 317; whether lawful to unite with them, 287; unity wrongly claimed by their theologians, 398; prevalence of the Jansenistic heresy amongst them, 300; and of infidelity and indifference, 319–322; and of schism, 324–329.
Romanists, see *Papists*.
Rome, bishops of, their exaggerated opinion of their own authority, i. 189; their power, 191, 192; endeavour to enslave the oriental churches in vain, 192, &c.; origin of their precedence in the universal church, ii. 470–473; not derived from St. Peter

jure divino, 473–477; proof that they have no jurisdiction over the catholic church, 478–489; that they are not infallible, ; 495 nor absolutely and always the centre of unity, 498; their legitimate privileges, 504; progress of their spiritual and temporal power, 514; their jurisdiction rightly removed in England, 407–420; its removal no act of schism, 421, 422; principles of papal authority lead to schism, and are injurious to the authority of the catholic church, 429, 430; authority of pope not transferred to king of England, 439; his authority in controversies of faith, ii. 241; communion with, not essential, i. 200. 214. 266; patriarchate of, ii. 506.

Royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs acknowledged only with a proviso by the English clergy, i. 426; their meaning, 427; powers attributed to the state by Roman theologians, ib.; no intention to approve Erastian doctrines, 428, 429; papal power not transferred to the king, 429; appeals to the king justifiable, 430; excommunication not given to the king, 431. ii. 305; royal injunctions not to be condemned, i. 432, 433; royal confirmation of synods free from blame, 433; commissions to the bishops capable of an orthodox sense, and must be so interpreted, 434–436; royal visitations excusable, 436; power to repress controversy, 437.

Russia, its church, i. 176.

Sabbath, observation of the, ii. 32. See *Lord's day*.

Sacraments, more than two acknowledged by the church of England, i. 470. 481; ii. 417–420.

Sacrifice in the eucharist, i. 497, 498. 500; ii. 437.

Salvation connected with belief of the truth, i. 100.

Schism, what, i. 68; great schism of the West, 93.

Scipio de Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, his reforms, i. 313, 314.

Scotland, the reformation there, i. 523, &c.; episcopacy continued, 524; disturbed state of the church, 525, 526; separation of the presbyterians, 527; their persecution of the church, 528.

Scripture, its authority how maintained against tradition by the reformers, i. 454; its perfection, ii. 12., &c.; not written casually, ii. 15; its perfection defended by tradition, 17–25; interpretations and deductions from it not always merely human, 38, &c.; act of faith in it may be founded on human testimony, ii. 83; Romanists argue in a circle, 84; not to be argued with on the authenticity of scripture, 86.

Separation, in what case justifiable, i. 79.

Socinians, a sect of deists, ii. 52; their hypocrisy, ib.; their treatment of scripture, 54. 59, 60.

State, powers over the church claimed by the, i. 327. *See Royal supremacy.*

Subscription to creeds and articles, its meaning, ii. 265–269.

Succession from the apostles essential, i. 160. 171, &c.

Supremacy, Royal, in ecclesiastical affairs, the church of England justified for admitting it, i. 241–245; freely exercised, and even abused in the Roman churches, 242, &c. See *Royal supremacy.*

Suspension, ii. 280.

Synods, of Nice, ii. 165; Constantinople, 168; Ephesus, 171; Chalcedon, 175; second of Constantinople, 176; third of Constantinople, 177; Sardica, 180; Ariminum, 181; Latrocinium of Ephesus, 189; Constantinople, 289; Nicene, 290–202; Constantinople, 203; Constantinople, 204; first Lateran, 205; second Lateran, 205; third Lateran, 206; fourth Lateran, 207; first Lyons, 214; second Lyons, 215; Vienne, 216; Pisa, 229; Constance, 229; Basle, 221; Florence, 222; Lateran, 223; Trent, 224; London, 242; London, 243, 244.

——, *œcumenical*, their description, ii. 144, 145; authority on what grounded, 145; infallibility of general synods not a matter of faith, 145–149; is without foundation, 149–157; general remarks on decrees of synods, 158–162; number of œcumenical synods, 163.

——, *particular*, their authority, 235–238; authority of ancient provincial synods, 238–240.

——, regulated by temporal power in France, Belgium, &c, i. 429.

Testimony, its sufficiency to found faith, ii. 81, 82.
Tillemont's observations on miracles of saints, i. 147.
Toleration, Act of, i. 246; principles of ii. 339-346.
Tradition, its authority acknowledged by the Lutherans, &c., i. 345-348; ii. 63; by the British Reformation, i. 454-464; its necessity and utility to the church, ii. 48-55; Romish doctrine of, refuted, ii. 14, &c.; its connexion with religion, 51-56.
Traditions of rites and discipline, when lawful, ii. 66-71.
Transubstantiation, how far admitted by Eastern church, i. 204; should not prevent the communion of churches, 205, 257; Romish doctrine of, 482; rejected by the British churches, 486; Cranmer's and Luther's opinions of it, 498, 499; perplexities of Roman theologians with regard to it, 490; not an article of faith, ii. 135. 160. 211-214.
Trent, synod of, not binding on us, i. 219, 220; the British churches not bound to attend it, 415-416.
Truth, revealed by Christ, obligatory on Christians, i. 99, 100.
Tunstall, his letter to cardinal Pole, i. 412.

Unction of the sick, ii. 72.
Unigenitus, Jansonist appeal against the bull, i. 302.
Unitarianism, how proved to be heresy, ii. 46.
Unity of the church, in communion, i. 63, &c.; in faith, 99, &c; provided for by British churches, 210, &c. improperly claimed for the Roman Obedience, 299, &c.
Universities, their censures of theological errors, ii. 284-293.

Variations, do not always involve heresy, i. 233. 465; those of the church of England altogether free from heresy, 465-491.
Voltaire, a communicant in the Roman church, i. 319, 320.

Walchius, testifies the reverence of the English church for antiquity, i. 217.
Walenburghs, their method of argument, ii. 44, 45.
Water, mixture of, in the eucharist, a variable rite, ii. 74.
Wicked, belong only externally to the church, i. 28.
Wickliffe, censured at Constance, ii. 217.

Zuinglius, and his party did not design separation from the church, i. 342-344.

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